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DROPPED STITCHES IN MY POLICY.

THERE are certain matters of essential and especial importance which seem, not indeed to be overlooked, but to be purposely ignored and disregarded by President Johnson in his present plan of reconstruction.

1. The rebels, whom he is proceeding to reinstate as if they were unexceptionable citizens, are criminals. As States, they have committed treason. As individuals, the very persons now receiving Executive favor and office have committed not only treason, but perjury, robbery and murder. Apart from all desire for vengeance, apart from all consideration of primitive justice, the public safety requires that both the States and the individuals who have committed these crimes shall be restrained from the freedom which they have chosen so grossly to abuse. They have not yet been officially treated as criminals. All that has yet been done is to prevent their destroying the national life by armed force. They fought with this intent for four years, and ceased to fight only when physically conquered, and rendered incapable of continuing the contest. But do reason, justice or prudence teach that the mere fact of defeat transforms them from malefactors into equal allies, or trustworthy partners? A defeated burglar passes naturally and appropriately into the hands of the officers of justice. It is not merely that he tried to rob one man, but that he is dangerous to every owner of movable property. The community needs to be protected against him. To let him escape would be a wrong against society. But suppose this malefactor has tried to murder his own partner in business, that he might take possession of their joint property. Is the transaction ended when he is disarmed and seized? Is he thenceforth, as a matter of course, to resume the old footing, merely taking an oath that he won't attempt robbery and murder again? Is he to remain equal partner, and to be openly recognized as such? to keep the key of the safe? to sign for the firm in whatever business transaction he pleases? Would this be anything less than utter folly and madness? But precisely this is the method which President Johnson has chosen to adopt with the rebel States and the rebel leaders.

It is, however, within the bounds of possibility that, with the individual malefactor above supposed, such a transaction might be safe, and result successfully. There is such a thing as immediate conversion. Archbishop Sharpe changed a highway robber at once to an honest man by magnanimity and kindness. There *might* be circumstances really authorizing the expectation that full forgiveness and the extension of confidence would work well in a particular case. Do these circumstances exist with our rebels? On the contrary—

2. Neither as States nor as individuals do the Southern rebels even pretend to be loyal. Yet they will make any professions or take any oaths which are indispensable prerequisites for reinstatement or office. One of them who lately complied with a requisition of this sort, is said not only to have expressed his readiness to swear anything which would give him a profit, but to have frankly stated that he had already taken "oaths enough to shingle hell."

To gain the wished-for reinstatement, they will take such oaths and make such declarations as may be necessary. But, apart from these formal and indispensable acts, not only is there no evidence of genuine loyalty among the defeated rebels, but abundant proof assures us that they cherish the same loves and hatreds, the same desires and aspirations as before. They cling to their delusion of State rights, mean by it, as they always did, the right of the South to settle disputed questions in its own favor, and will bide their time until they can enforce this idea over the North. They hate the (adjective) Yankees even more bitterly than before the war, and have already begun a course of measures intended to prevent their settling in business in the Southern States. They hate those negroes who venture practically to use any portion of that freedom which the Emancipation Proclamation and the other events and results of the war have thrown open to them. They are determined to maintain caste, and that system of aristocratic rule which has always distinguished Southern society. They cherish a venomous malignity against the Union, whose success in war has overthrown their "peculiar institution" and balked their purposes. They constantly express the warmest regard and affection for their leaders, civil and military, in the rebellion; and they evidently hope yet to obtain, by fraud or force, that predominance over the North which the war failed to secure for them.

3. They have commenced with energy a system of persecution of loyal white men, warning them, sometimes by anonymous notes, sometimes by committees, to leave their Southern places of residence or business, or entering at once upon assaults and outrages which show that region to be unsafe for them and their families. The Northern men who had entered upon agricultural or mercantile projects at the South, trusting that the defeat and collapse of the rebellion would insure the protection of law and a gradual advance of civilization there, find their hopes defeated and their plans foiled, and are giving up that experiment upon which the only hope of a speedily renovated South depended. Is it strange that a defeated people, without armies, should succeed in driving out their conquerors? The desertion of the Executive, with the immense power and patronage which he wields, to the rebel side, is the cause of this anomaly. The President gives his countenance and aid to that very treason which he formerly threatened to make odious; to those very traitors whom he formerly threatened to punish. The prominent feature of that "policy" of his, the active maintenance of which is the indispensable condition of Executive favor, is encouragement to the leaders of the late rebellion, and discouragement to those who followed the flag and upheld the government of the United States. As President Lincoln neglected and wasted the opportunity of establishing freedom and an impartial application of law all over the country *on parchment*, so President Johnson is neglecting and wasting the opportunity of securing these immense advantages in practice. The latter had power to remedy the errors, to supply the deficiencies, of the former; but, instead of this, he repeats the treachery of Davis and Floyd, and puts the power of the nation into the hands of the nation's enemies.

If the mass of the Southern people take towards loyal white men the attitude I have described, no wonder that they use the full extent of their opportunities to insult, oppress and re-subjugate the unfortunate negro. This hapless class, both those made free by the war and those who were free before the war, are abused, insulted, cheated and outraged in every possible manner. Neither resistance nor submission will avail them. Assault and outrage meet them on every hand. If they work, they are coolly refused payment at the end of the month or the season. If they can get no work that promises a better result than this, they are accused of laziness and depredation. If they attempt to get legal redress for fraud or violence, they not only fail to obtain it, but the very assumption of a claim to the protection of law arouses new indignation against them. And every outrage is barbed with the taunt that *this* is the "freedom" which their Northern friends have gained for them.

Not only does this persecution of loyal men, on account of their loyalty, prevail all over the seat of rebellion, but

4. There is a continuation in all respects, throughout that region, of the very policy which *caused* the rebellion; the state of things now cultivated in the South by the President directly tends towards another outbreak of the same kind, as soon as strength and opportunity combine to favor it.

The "irrepressible conflict" is still pending, still in action. That triumph of FREE INSTITUTIONS without which there can be no triumph of right and justice, is still indefinitely distant. Chattel slavery, indeed, is abolished by law, and has probably ceased in form through most of the Southern country, though we still hear of the sale of men and women by auction in various places. But the aristocratic, oligarchic system of those States which have grown up under slavery still remains. It has not been interfered with by our government in the way which the result of the war rendered natural and proper, namely, by holding in the grasp of law, as criminals, those men who devised, engineered and led the rebellion, and inflicting upon them some portion of the penalty authorized by their open and flagrant treason. These were the very persons who had held aristocratic and oligarchical rule over every Southern State. Even if these persons did not receive capital punishment or banishment (according to the usage of other civilized countries in cases of high treason) they should, at the very least, have been forbidden to hold office. To allow them still to wield power, and exercise political influence, whether in the nation which they had unjustly sought to overthrow, or in the State which they had tried to exalt above the Union, was an enormous absurdity. This absurdity was begun by Mr. Lincoln. But what condemnatory epithets will express the conduct of President Johnson, who has chosen these men for special favor; preferred them to loyalists for all offices, both military and civil; and has made such preference a prominent feature of his policy!

If these men are to remain in office and power in the South, distributors of political preferment, leaders of public opinion, they will of course try to perpetuate the system which has given them power, and to cherish those peculiarities which have always been boasted of as the distinguishing features of Southern life. Prominent among these is contempt for labor, and systematic depression of the laboring class. The Lords of the South will continue, as they have always done, to discourage education, progress, elevation of every sort among this class, and will be especially careful to prevent these among the blacks, whom they will wish to hold perpetually as the lowest class—the servants of servants. Of course free schools, if allowed at all after the new system is *established*, will be few and poor. Of course mechanical as well as agricultural labor will continue to be held in contempt, and thus the intelligence and enterprise of self-respecting Northern men will be excluded from that field of operation. Of course the sons of Southern "gentlemen," taught to recognize active labor as dishonorable, will divide their time, as of old, between partisan politics and the sports of the race-course, the cock-pit and the gaming-table. And of course the pernicious influence of the contact of ideas and customs like these will still be exercised upon all those Northern men whose relations of commerce, politics or family connection make them travellers or temporary residents in the South. What a prospect does this open for the future of our country!

The way to get out of a system involving such anomalies and absurdities, such pernicious acts and such fatal omissions as characterize President Johnson's policy, may be a question. The *best* method of escape from it will require the knowledge and skill of the ablest statesmen, and a firm devotion to freedom and right on the part of the people. But it is unfortunately certain that while we move in the course at present held, we are moving towards disaster and ruin. The rebellion, just when it seemed thoroughly conquered, just when it might have been utterly extinguished had the right measures been promptly taken, has met with a new ally. In place of the trivial and subordinate question which has long occupied men's minds, "What shall be done with Jefferson Davis?" we ought now to be considering—What shall be done with Andrew Johnson?

C. K. W.

PETER COOPER TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON.

THE venerable Peter Cooper has addressed a letter to President Johnson, of which the following is the concluding portion:

It was said of old, the sin of ingratitude is worse than the sin of witchcraft.

To my mind, our nation must live in everlasting infamy if we fail to secure a full measure of justice to an unfortunate race of men who were originally hunted down in their own country, and carried off and sold like beasts into an abject slavery, with all their posterity.

This enslaved race has the strongest possible claims for kindness, as well as justice, at the hands of the people and government of the whole country, and more especially from the people of the South. These unfortunate slaves have done a great portion of the labor that has fed and clothed the whites and blacks of the Southern country.

As true as the laborer is worthy of his hire, so true it is that we, as a nation, cannot withhold justice and equal rights from a race of men that has fought and bled and labored to defend and protect the Union of States in the hour of our nation's greatest extremity.

The enemies of our country and government are now trying to persuade the community to believe that a war of races would result from giving the black man the same measure of justice and rights which the white men claim for themselves. This will be found to be a groundless fear. Our national danger will always result from unequal and partial laws. We cannot make laws which will oppress and keep in ignorance the poor without bringing on ourselves and our country the just judgment of a righteous God, who will reward us as a nation according to our works.

I indulge the hope that you will see, before it is entirely too late, the terrible danger of taking counsel with Northern men in sympathy with the rebels who fought the government with all the energy of desperation to accomplish the destruction of our government, instead of taking counsel with those friends who elected you—friends who have been and are as desirous as you can possibly be to secure the adoption of every measure calculated to promote the substantial welfare of all parts of our common country.

With my best wishes for yourself and the prosperity and happiness of the nation, I remain, truly yours,

PETER COOPER.

SPEECH OF GEN. BUTLER

At the Massachusetts Republican State Convention.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: Let us first of all mingle our congratulations for the triumphant success of the great Republican party, whose representatives in the commonwealth of Massachusetts we are. Organized on its present basis in 1856, that party nearly carried the country on the single issue of restraining slavery within the States where it decided its constitutional limits were fixed. More successful in 1860, according to the forms and in the manner of the Constitution, it elected the President and assumed the administration of the government. With no pretext save this, eleven States of the Union, under the lead of South Carolina, undertook, by the most solemn forms of municipal enactment, to vindicate their favorite political dogma of the superiority of State to Federal allegiance under the Constitution, and to establish slavery, which was but a tolerated incident in the frame of government erected by our fathers, as the corner-stone of an empire. The teachings in the South of a generation culminated in this enterprise. Relying on the peaceful prosperity of the North; its unwillingness for strife; on the law-loving and obeying spirit of its people, which was mistaken for pusillanimity; the bold, bad leaders of the rebellion thought to succeed by an appeal to arms. Putting faith in anticipated co-operation on the part of those who had formerly acted with them under the Constitution to sustain them in their repudiation of the Constitution, they began a most causeless war. This insane act drove every true patriot who had intelligently watched the progress of events to take sides with the government in the pending armed struggle, and this the Republican party, which had suffered in the estimation of many men because it appeared to be a sectional party, became the great national Union party of the country. Relieved by the inexorable logic of events from constitutional obligations to sustain slavery, to establish which was the cause and object of the war on the part of the insurgents, the Republican party, widening the platform of its principles according to the humane ideas of its inception, adopted universal freedom, universal equality, and universal justice, as the three fundamental articles of its creed. The first, freedom for all, was established by an act of the war-making power; the last, equality of rights and equal justice, are still in contest.

When the last rebel surrendered to the victorious armies of the United States; when Lincoln, whose pen signed the immortal proclamation of emancipation, had laid down his life, a sacrifice for its maintenance; when hundreds of thousands of brave men had fallen in the contest; when thousands upon thousands of the same men had most miserably perished in the murder-pens of Belle Isle, Salisbury and Andersonville, in tortures only equalled by those suffered by the early Christian martyrs, that liberty and just laws might be established throughout the land, the nation might well have hoped that there should be no foot of American soil where an American citizen, of whatever rank or complexion, peacefully advocating whatever proposition, moral, religious or political, should not be free so to do and be protected fully in that right. Surely a sufficient price had been paid that we might bequeath such a government to our children—that inheritance which we received from our fathers—but have heretofore allowed to be tarnished in the Southern States. With the military power of the South subdued, its soldiers captured, its citizens substantially paroled prisoners of war, their municipal organizations broken up, their pretended government overthrown, their leader in chains, and each individual citizen (with a few glorious exceptions) having forfeited every right under the Constitution which he had repudiated and endeavored to overthrow, it only required that the Union party of the country should have agreed in all the branches of government which it represented, to have imprinted upon the country those principles of liberty, equality, and justice, it had so fully declared, so that such impress should have remained forever. Unfortunately, the head of the Administration—the Chief Executive of the nation—was not found equal to the occasion; or if, indeed, as his declarations at one time seemed to show, his intellect divined the true course, there lacked some quality in his organization which prevented his grasping the sublime significance of the political position of the country as the great missionary nation in the regeneration of the governmental institutions of the world. Occupying himself with details when he should have dealt with generals; studying politics when he should have been acting statesmanship; busying himself with clemency to individual rebel supplicants while he was unjust to the loyal heart of the country; seeking to repair the edifice of the government by petty expedients, instead of laying the foundations of its reconstruction deep in the broad principles of the party which elected him. Recognizing the necessity of some security for the future, instead of insisting upon these fundamental elementary rights and truths, as conditions precedent to the return of rebels to a share in the government, he proposed the mere incidents of the situation as sufficient guaranties, requiring only that they should agree to the abolition of slavery, which the wager of battle had rendered complete and eternal, to the abandonment of the ordinances of secession which had been nullified amid the roar of cannon and the clash of arms, the President allowed States to reorganize themselves upon such basis, to put forward claims to a portion of the government of the country, while their conventions which did so would not sit under the folds of the flag to which they had renewed a perjured allegiance.

Assuming in himself a sufficiency of wisdom alone to meet a national crisis greater than ever tasked the intellect of mortal man, he neglected therefore to call to his aid the other departments of the government elected by the same party and the same votes which had put him in the position from which a wicked accident elevated him to power, and thus raised from the dust every humbled, conquered rebel, and converted him into a blustering, blatant claimant for rights which he had forfeited and to powers greater than had ever belonged to his State or section. When, therefore, Congress came together, after seven months worse than lost, in fostering the spirit of rebellion which had succumbed to our victorious arms, the loyal representatives of the nation were told that the void ordinances of secession having been repealed and the amendment abolishing slavery having been adopted, without further acts or conditions, these same rebels who had fought to obtain power outside the Union, had a right to resume political power inside the Union, increased by the representation of two-fifths of their emancipated population. Because while the negroes were slaves and had no votes, their masters were allowed to pay taxes for, and to represent, three-fifths of them only, and now that their slaves have become freemen, although deprived of their votes because of laws made for slaves, still it is claimed their masters shall represent five-fifths of them, while the negroes must pay all the taxes assessed upon themselves; so that if this wrong obtains, the rebellion will have acquired for its traitors exemption from three-fifths of their taxation and an increase of two-fifths of their representation—the exact reverse of the old political maxim, no taxation without representation, this being representation without taxation.

This shocking injustice, thus initiated by the President, struck the country with surprise, not less than did the kindred claim that it was for the Executive to determine under what guaranties and under what conditions States were to resume their forfeited governmental relations in the Union. The great Union party, through their representatives in the House and Senate, with a unanimity unparalleled, especially as the Executive at the beginning of his term of office attempted the disruption of his party by the blandishments of power and the seductions of place, maintained that it was for Congress, as the legislative body comprising three branches, to determine upon what terms and at what time rebellious States, conquered provinces, territory of the United States, occupied by disloyal inhabitants, their State organization lost or abrogated, should be allowed to organize themselves, and come back as part of the government, and that other guaranties of fitness to exercise political power must be given than asking pardons to obtain property, or the taking unwilling oaths by reluctant perjured lips.

After a careful examination of the whole subject by witnesses drawn from every portion of the country, Congress determined that the inhabitants of these revolted States were not in such condition of loyal feeling and fealty to the government and love for its institutions as to entitle them to send representatives to make laws for the loyal portion of the country, until they had given guaranties for good behavior in the future and shown themselves willing to adopt the principles of equality of personal rights in all citizens of the United States, and their abhorrence of secession and all its incidents, by adopting certain constitutional amendments rendered necessary in consequence of the rebellion, to wit: that the debt incurred in suppressing the rebellion should never be repudiated; that debts incurred in the rebellion should never be paid; that equal personal rights should be guarantied to every citizen of the United States in every State, and equal protection under the laws; and that so long as any class of men in the States were prohibited from the exercise of their political rights as citizens they should not be counted in the quota of representation. To most of us—may I not say to all of us? these terms seemed too easy, too mild, too lenient. It seemed to us that Congress did not go far enough in imbedding in the very foundations of the government the true idea of American liberty, the great result of the war—to all men justice and equality of political and personal rights. We were willing, however, if the proposition of Congress had been met in a spirit of love and kindness, or even of cordial acquiescence by the South, to have restored them again to the seats they had profaned and deserted, and to a fair share of the power which they had abused, and the right to which they had forfeited.

But Richmond, Memphis, Savannah, and New Orleans, by their journals, their riots, and the massacre of Union men, tell us that we have nothing to hope from the love of country, the patriotism, the loyalty, the fraternal feeling of the South.

The President, cutting loose from those who stood by him in his darkest hours, has called together in convention at Philadelphia the representatives of those who fought against the Union in the South, and the delegates of those who were afraid to fight for it in the North, and at the head of a personal party so formed, proposes by this union of every enemy of the country, aided by their sympathizers North and South, to force the rebellious States into positions as a ruling power of the government, without any indemnity for the past or security for the future. To this then the issue is at once narrowed:

"Shall those who have betrayed the country and tried to destroy it by force or by fraud control its destinies in its otherwise glorious future? Shall all the fruits of the war be thrown away and all good results lost at the call of personal ambition or willfulness?" I have said that we had cause to congratulate ourselves as a political organization, one that has carried the country through this awful war against its enemies abroad and at home, which now stands concentrated and powerful to uphold the principles of its organization, to make them the law of the land, notwithstanding treachery in our ranks and the union of all our opponents and the opponents of the country to overthrow us. Without fear, without hesitation, without doubt, we will meet the issue between eternal right and unmeasured wrong, certain that in the end, whatever of trouble, darkness or difficulty may encompass us, our principles, if we are true to them, must triumph. We cannot go wrong. There is no such thing as missing one's path on a straight road.

We spurn the dogma that this is a white faced man's government. We are now to look to the heart for the color, not the face. We insist that it is the loyal man's government, whether he be white or black. We look to the color of the heart and not to that of the face to determine our political friends or enemies. We hold all men who fought with us to save the country, our equals in right in governing the country, and we hold all men who fought against the country unfit to take part in its government until they have shown due repentance for their sins, and have brought forth works meet for repentance.

Delegates of the Republican party of Massachusetts! We here in the old Commonwealth have substantially no contest. We stand on the vantage ground of being pioneers in the principles of government. We have no temptations to yield anything to expediency, but to follow, as our policy, only the dictates of justice and right, and thus exercise that influence for the true principles of government, which has been the pride and boast of our beloved Commonwealth from the inception of the revolution.

It is for us, as the advanced guard, to vindicate, to establish, to make certain forever, wherever floats the American flag, equality of rights and equality of protection under the laws, these great safeguards of human freedom, as a birthright and an inheritance indefeasible and inalienable to manhood. To engrave such charter of rights to mankind in letters of living light, ineffaceable through all time, so that prejudice shall not misinterpret them, willfulness shall not misunderstand them, nor perversity, whether of King or President, shall not dare to interfere to prevent their fullest fruition, is the glorous unfulfilled mission of our organization.

To this we stand pledged by the teachings of our patriot sires, now echoing through this hall; by the hallowed blood of our sons slain on the battle-field or starved in prison; the sacred memories of the bleeding corpse of the assassinated Lincoln; by the dying prayer of the murdered, sainted Horton, the latest victim sacrificed on the altar of equal rights; by the sole legacy of the pure patriot Dostie, massacred to establish wrong and sin, bequeathed to his widowed wife and mourning country in his last dying words: "*Let the good work go on!*" Yes! unnumbered, glorious heroes of the battle! Yes! thousands of suffering patriots murdered in prison, now beatified, seeing your lives were not spent in vain! Yes! martyred President! yes! sainted teacher! yes! noble-minded patriot! the good work by you began for which you laid down your lives, shall go on until every foot-print of wrong or oppression by man to his fellow-man shall be blotted out forever!

GEN. LEE.—Montgomery Blair states that his father, at the request of President Lincoln, in April, 1861, proffered to Robert E. Lee the command of the Union forces against the slaveholders' rebellion, and that Lee's response was as follows:

"Mr. Blair, I look upon secession as anarchy. If I owned the 4,000,000 of slaves in the South, I would sacrifice them all to the Union; but how can I draw my sword upon Virginia, my native State?"

It strikes us that a man who so clearly apprehended the madness of secession should have addressed some words of warning to his fellow-citizens against the abyss to which they were tending. Had Lee simply told them, "If you renounce and defy the Union, you will compel me most reluctantly to resist you," he might have saved them from untold miseries. A true man owes to those he loves something better than concurrence in their errors.

Mr. Blair adds:

"He could not determine then; said he would consult with his friend, Gen. Scott, and went on the same day to Richmond, probably to arbitrate difficulties—and we see the result. It is hard for a noble mind to tear itself from home, kindred, friends and native soil, and go into opposite ranks to crush them all."

Does Mr. Blair insinuate that Robert E. Lee has a more "noble mind" than George H. Thomas or David G. Farragut?—*Tribune.*

THE MEPHISTOPHELES OF THE ADMINISTRATION.—We should like to know from Mr. Seward, the Mephistopheles of the Administration, who it was that got up the Presidential pilgrimage to Chicago, and for what purpose it was gotten up. Such an imposing affair could hardly be intended to do honor merely to the memory of a man who was nothing greater than a successful, scheming politician. Did our Mephistopheles Secretary plan it for the purpose of damaging the President? Has he still ambition to take the Presidential chair? Or was he playing some other deep and tricky game? He seemed to enjoy himself greatly, and to be the Merry Andrew of the party, while the earnest and honest President was suffering the grossest insults and mortification. This Chicago pilgrimage and fiasco throws suspicion upon the Secretary, to say the least, and we want light upon the subject.

"PEACE" IN TEXAS.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

THE New York *Times* of yesterday, in its editorial summary of the news of the day, says:

"It is estimated that 1,000 persons have arrived at Galveston and Houston, Texas, to escape the persecutions of guerillas in the interior, who rob and murder on both sides indiscriminately, for plunder. Affairs throughout the State are daily becoming worse instead of better, and innumerable outrages are hourly recorded."

—These guerillas are almost if not quite wholly ex-rebel soldiers. They hold that work is the destiny of "niggers," and utterly unsuited to chivalrous whites like themselves. Of course, "they rob and murder indiscriminately for plunder;" but the defenceless negroes are their special prey, because unprotected by legal authority or public sentiment. The blacks murdered in Texas alone since the return of "peace" are very many; and not one of the murderers has as yet been punished by State authority. Where is this to end? What power is to supply the corrective?

Texas has 45 political newspapers, whereof 40 are "Conservative"—that is, ex-rebel—and 5 Union, or as radical as they can venture to be. Most of their conductors live in constant terror. A letter just received from Collin county states that Throckmorton, now Governor, made a speech there just before the polls opened, which was in effect a denunciation of every man who should dare to vote the radical ticket, which had the effect of diminishing the anti-rebel vote at least half. It was so in most Counties. It was perfectly safe everywhere to vote for Throckmorton; it was perilous at most polls to vote for Pease. Hence, the vote of many of the eastern and central Counties is almost or quite unanimous for Throckmorton. And yet, with but 5 of the 45 newspapers on our side, while but two of these had any general circulation, Pease received 12,000 votes to some 40,000 for Throckmorton. Had all who desired Pease's success voted for him, his poll would probably have reached 20,000. Yet we are daily told by "Conservative" journals and speakers that the Southern Loyalists or Radicals have no party at their back but "niggers." If they were fairly protected against violence and terroism, this could no longer be pretended.

IMPARTIAL SUFFRAGE.

From the N. Y. Independent.

IT is said that now is not the time to urge Impartial Suffrage. We reply, impartial suffrage is to be urged at all times, till it is achieved. But why is it a bugbear during the present canvass? What makes a doubtful Republican district in Connecticut precarious? It is because the Democrats of that district say to the Republicans, "Your party seeks to force upon an unwilling South a system of suffrage which they vote against at home." But, thanks to the last Philadelphia Convention, that argument is ended! The loyal South is no longer unwilling: it is only loyal Connecticut that is still mean. The Southern loyalists imperatively demand impartial suffrage as the only possible safe basis of reconstruction. Shall a few Connecticut or Indiana politicians stand as obstacles? Our hearts are with the Southern loyalists; the Northern tremblers may go their shivering way without our company. Mr. John T. Hoffman, the Democratic candidate for Governor of New York, criticizes the Republican platform of this State because omits to declare for impartial suffrage. The criticism is just. Mr. Hoffman and every Democrat knows that the Republican party is at heart for impartial suffrage. Out of the abundance of the heart, why should not the mouth speak? The dwellers in Doubting Castle who now advise the Republican party to wait a few years before striking for impartial suffrage will be just as unprepared then as now. Minds like theirs never lead, but only hinder, the party of freedom. They know too little of human nature, too little how to touch the chords of men's hearts, ever to lead the masses. The hearts of a great party are never grandly given to any leaders except bold men. Courage cuts all knots. The Republican party, just now, needs its most courageous men at the front. But the true leaders of parties are the leaders of the leaders; and these are not chosen by ballot; they take their place by self-appointment and divine ordination. Now is the opportunity, therefore, for men of genius in statesmanship to mould the nation to equal rights. Such men are generally not in political office, but above it. The country has no lack of such men: let them now take the helm! Political training unfits most men for moral emergencies of statesmanship. Such an emergency is now at hand—shove the half-way men aside! All hail to a reconstructed Union on the granite of Impartial suffrage! "Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces!"

THE PRESS.

A YEAR ago much was said of the President's experiments. Of these the New York *Tribune* says:

"Frequent reference is made by public speakers to the noteworthy fact that at the beginning of his career, the President repeatedly described his attempts at reconstruction as experiments. He is charged now with bad faith in insisting that they are accomplished facts. We do not share this view of the case. They *were* experiments—experiments on the faith, confidence and patience of the loyal millions of the North. They were experiments to see whether they would surrender, in the White House, to that treason which they had crushed in Dixie. Vermont says no. Maine says no. And all the people will say no. Let the President take heed."

THE AMENDMENT AND ITS NEW ADVOCATE.

The New York *Herald* is daily urging the Southern States to hasten to ratify the pending amendment, and to make sure of securing its advantages. It says:

"We feel entirely justified in admonishing the Southern States that delay is dangerous to them; that if they reject these conditions of Congress they will be far more likely to get something much worse instead of anything better; that a State government, according to the Supreme Court, if recognized by Congress, is the State; that if not recognized by Congress, there is no appeal but to the next Congress, and that in such an appeal there is no living chance of anything better than this amendment for the excluded States.

"It is the victorious party in a war that dictates the treaty of peace; and as the terms of restoration and peace offered to the South by Congress propose nothing of confiscation, no enforcement of negro suffrage, no vengeance, no exclusions from Federal offices that cannot be remedied, no disfranchisements, but only those securities deemed necessary for the safety of the national treasury, the liberty of the blacks and the future peace of the Union, we would appeal to the excluded Southern States to come into the General government as fast as possible on these generous terms offered through Congress by the victorious North. We urge this course because it is abundantly manifest that nothing less will satisfy the great dominant Union war party and Congressional peace party of the North."

THE SPIRIT OF THE SOUTHERN PRESS.

The Southern organs are not slow to understand the inflammatory calls to inaugurate civil war afresh, made upon them by the President's supporters. The Petersburg *Express* indulges in speculation as to the result of the conflict:

"The Northern conservatives, supported by the executive powers of the government, would be able to annihilate with speedy ruin the unorganized mobs on which the radicals would have to rely. Besides, a war for constitutional government is no novelty at the South, and we venturo to say that nothing would more thoroughly arouse the military spirit of her people than a call to arms against the guilty partisans of Sumner and Stevens."

The Memphis *Avalanche*, which may be considered an authority on the subject of riots, advises its readers to let the negroes alone in the next massacre, and devote themselves to the extermination of white Southern loyalists. Its words are as follows:

"If again we are called upon to defend ourselves and our rights from such invasion as the Radicals are striving to bring upon us through the social and political equality of the negro, let us not forget, in the moment of our passion, that the negro is not the chief-worker in the scheme of villany. He is but the tool, the dupe, the catspaw to the wily, vicious, cunning monkey. Next time let us catch the monkey, and when caught let us read him a lesson of 'personal liberty,' such as he little dreams of when selling his books and pictures to the deluded negro, and teaching him the road to 'equality.' We repeat it—John Browns are among us still. They are teaching the negroes the hate which animates the devil. If they should succeed in inciting another riot between the whites and blacks of the South, it will be a sacred duty we owe to humanity to let the negro pass unhurt, but hang their radical, fanatical leaders as high as Haman was hung before the Jewish king's gate. That is our retribution. Spare the poor negro, but dedicate to an infamy of immortality the damnable scruff which moves in our midst but to perpetuate discord, hate, bloodshed and death."

The call for the release of Jefferson Davis is kept up with increasing clamor. The Georgia *Constitutionalist* says:

"The old excuse or policy is threadbare to us now. We are sick of being told that 'it would embarrass the President' to let him go. Justice mercy, honor, never embarrass any man. If Mr. Johnson thinks he must let Mr. Davis die in captivity lest his release should strengthen the Radicals, what does he mean by making such a defiant speech against them as that delivered by him in Washington on Saturday last? If policy doesn't forbid his denouncing them to their very teeth as tyrants, oppressors and scoundrels, why should policy forbid his *acting* a little that way, and letting a dying captive go? Come, let us *see* a little conciliation. We have heard about it long enough. If it is ever going to mean anything, let it mean it now."

The Richmond papers scout with derision the statement that Gen. Terry was sent West for his health, and say it is the result of his behaving as "a radical satrap" in the late rebel capital, and enforcing martial law. They now call on the President to remove the few loyal men whom he appointed to Federal offices in the South a year ago, and who are denounced as "unblushing advocates of the disunion convention which is to meet at Philadelphia next week." The Richmond *Times* says:

"The reasons which, in the opinion of the President, justified such appointments sixteen months ago, no longer exist. These officials should now be treated as temporary and provisional, and they should make way for conservative friends of the President who 'are to the manor born.'"

The rebel press does not hesitate to denounce Sheridan, since his dispatches concerning the New Orleans massacre, as "a reckless radical," and to call upon the President to supersede him. We quote one or two specimens to show the style. The Richmond *Times* will do to represent the more refined class of papers:

"He maliciously and falsely throws the blame of the riot upon the mayor and police of New Orleans. His report is sustained by not one particle of evidence, and Gen. Sheridan, we fear, like the distinguished traveller, Baron Munchausen, has a weakness for exaggeration. The proclivity, which was fearfully manifested during the war, seems to have increased upon him of late."

HENRY J. RAYMOND—"POOR DOG TRAY."

From the N. Y. World.

Mr. Raymond has decided to bolt the Conservative nominations made at Albany, and to crawl back on his knees into the Republican party. He published, yesterday, a long editorial in the spirit of the following extract:

"There are thousands and tens of thousands of Republicans in this State who long for the restoration of the Union, and who demand that it shall be effected by a loyal adherence to the letter and spirit of the Constitution, and by the admission to their seats in Congress of loyal men from loyal States, who can take the oath prescribed by law. But they will be *quite likely to prefer taking their chances of securing this result from the action of the Republican party*, modified as it may be by reflection and moderate counsels, rather than seek it in the way marked out for them by the albany Democratic Convention."

It has ben evident, for some time, that the *Times* was trying to swallow its shame and play the deserter. It is now certain that it has decided to use the little influence that is left it to defeat Hoffman and elect Fenton. We accuse Mr. Raymond, in putting his paper on this course, of acting in bad faith. We do not make this grave charge lightly, but deliberately. To avoid misconception and show that it is not flung out at random, or in passion, we will define it with some exactness and point out the ground on which it rests. Mr. Raymond's obligations to the Democratic party as participants with him in the present Conservative movement have been so recently asumed that if, with his usual levity and fickleness, he immediately throws them off, his course is so in keeping with his character, that it would be ridiculous to complain. If Democrats fancied he would keep faith with them any longer than he felt it would be for his interest, they should lay the blame of their disappointment upon their own credulous simplicity. The particular perfidy for which we arraign Mr. Raymond is his perfidy to Mr. Pruyn. It is as aggravated a case of the kind as could well be conceived. Mr. Pruyn is a Republican of character, ability, and accomplishments; he was put upon the Albany ticket at the urgent solicitation of Mr. Raymond's political associates; and he has a right to resent the perfidy which deserts, and attempts to defeat the ticket on which he occupies a prominent place. Mr. Pruyn's Republican associates who sought for him a place on the ticket, thereby gave him as strong a pledge as could be given, that they would support the ticket to which they had committed his personal reputation.

The excuses which Mr. Raymond trumps up for this perfidy to one of the most esteemed and honorable Republicans in the State, are so frivolous as to show that they are the pretext, not the reasons, of his desertion. He takes exception to the form under which the Convention was called. But that form was concurred in by both committees; and when the Saratoga Committee had given it their signed endorsement, they excluded themselves, and the party they represented, from afterwards questioning the fairness or validity of the call. They might have refused their concurrence, had they so chosen, and have called a separate Convention. But for Mr. Raymond to act, at this late day, as if they were not bound by their decision and their signatures, is repugnant to every sentiment of manliness and honor.

THE EVENING POST.

The N. Y. *Evening Post* finds itself unable to follow unreservedly in the lead of President Johnson, but continually does what it can to chill the ardor of earnest loyal men and to discourage the advocates of radical and impartial measures. In an article in vindication of its course, it says:

"The country has fallen into a panic honorable to its heart. It is so fearful of injustice being done, that it leaves the most just and necessary laws unexecuted, and insists on something else, which, after all, will have but little effect. The laws make treason a crime, and demand its punishment; but Davis is still in Fortress Monroe, a prisoner of the military arm. The civil law takes no note of him, and even Congress shows not the slightest disposition to interfere. The condition of a large part of the Southern leaders is that of prisoners of war, aliens, who can have no voice or part in the government, by right, unless they are first pardoned; yet they do take part in political affairs, and are neither warned nor checked. The Civil Rights act is as though it was not, and this through the fault of the

loyal people, who refuse to use it for their protection. Republican leaders refuse to exercise the right of free speech in the Southern States by holding a mass convention there; they find it cheaper to declare such a proceeding dangerous. There are a dozen laws on the statute book unexecuted; but Congress and the people care nothing for that; they insist on other laws—which, perhaps, will remain as dead as these.

"Now, we declare our belief that if Congress would make the President and the courts execute the laws now on the books, without troubling itself about enacting others; and if the people would do their duty, by invoking the laws and the courts when they are wronged—life, liberty, property and free speech would be secure in all parts of the Union. Then we might turn our attention to the passage of the Constitutional Amendment, resting our claims on the evident justice of the demand that representation shall be gauged according to voters, and not according to unrepresented classes."

IMPEACHMENT OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON.

Wilkes's Spirit of the Times of the 22d inst. contains a strong article entitled "Indictment of Andrew Johnson." It is a searching review of the recent career of the President and sums up by calling for his impeachment. It concludes as follows:

"Having now called attention to the prominent features of the President's programme, and illustrated by his language and his course, what are undoubtedly his guiding motives, we leave to the Congress, which is the only direct representative the people have, the duty of vindicating the country from his falsehoods and his usurpations. It is not true, as he has declared, that Congress has practically prohibited the restoration of the Southern States; and for stating this untruth he deserves to be solemnly arraigned. It is not true that the people of this land have sunk so low, that for a few millions of dollars, and the patronage appertaining to a single bill, he could corrupt them to become his slaves, though he twice has said it; and for thus having degraded the country in the eyes of foreign powers, he deserves to be impeached!

"He deserves also to be impeached for the attempt to extend those military attributes of the Executive, which attached only in a State of war, and which inured to him solely during the legislative interregnum, over the Congress when it was in session.

"He further deserves to be impeached for having accused Congress of concocting and inciting the massacre at New Orleans; for denouncing that coordinate branch of the government as a factious body hanging on its verge; for inflaming the people against the authority of laws passed constitutionally by a two-thirds vote; for usurping the functions of the Supreme Court by declaring those laws to be unconstitutional, in advance of any case, and while all the sanctions of the Constitution bind them upon him and upon the people; for pledging himself to the citizens of St. Louis to veto all the measures of this Congress, without regard to their legality or fitness, whenever they may come before him; and, finally, for endeavoring to corrupt the people and subsidize the press, by offering the patronage which is entrusted to him by the Constitution for public purposes, as an inducement for their party votes. While lying is not comprehended by the Constitution as a possible Executive offence, the crime of bribery is, and so long as it remains among the causes for impeachment against the President, his scandalous offers at Philadelphia and St. Louis, should not pass without rebuke. Seductions in the way of office, are as gross as temptations in the way of cash, and when they are offered to promote apostacy, instead of being conferred as legitimate consideration for past usefulness or merit, they should receive all the ignominy of a criminal indictment. We grant that all this would be very mortifying to the country, but the scandal of a formal Presidential trial and impeachment would not be half so great, as the unspeakable disgrace of permitting, without complaint, a man like Andrew Johnson to denounce the Congress as a treasonous body, and to declare that the American people could be made to sell their liberties for a handful of patronage and a few millions of dollars. The only thing to be regretted in connection with such proposed impeachment is, that the man who could put this insult upon the American people, could not be impeached out of his nativity, and utterly ignored even as an American citizen."

THE RICHMOND EXAMINER ON HON. JOHN M. BOTTS.

The Johnson paper of Richmond, the noted *Examiner*, thus comments on Mr. Botts's speeches and acts in the late Convention:

"We have no adequate terms to use in application to this wretch and his hellish principles. We know, however, that there cannot be anywhere in the wide world a man of right feeling and perception who will not be horrified at Botts's villany. * * * A traitor to hearth and home, to family and friends, to his friends and acquaintances, to his fellow-citizens and his native State—a double-dyed traitor to the Constitution and the Union, to peace, justice, and humanity, to religion, to mankind, to God. Such will be the impartial verdict of posterity and Heaven upon him."

AFRICA—"SINGING THE OLD SONG."

From the N. Y. Journal of Commerce.

The fact that Africa has never been civilized, by no means goes to prove that it never will be. Possibly the circumstances have never yet been sufficiently favorable. The aids and encouragements have certainly never yet accomplished the first step in progress. But there is one plan which has never been tried, and it may well be that in this plan the hope of Africa lies. That portion of the race which has been brought to this country, enslaved and finally freed, has gone through an experience and education which was never possible to Africans in Africa. The idea of re-exporting the whole negro population to its native shores is for the present impracticable, but every ship-load which goes out carries new hope for the race. Here the race is doomed. It is useless for men to close their eyes to the fact. Hundreds of thousands have perished miserably within five years, and there is reason to believe that under the most favorable circumstances which can be imagined possible, the rule here for the future will be decrease rather than increase. The decrease would probably be hastened by the success of the radical scheme of legislating the race at once into perfect equality with the white. The doom which may now be postponed for a few generations would in that event approach with terrible swiftness. The negro race cannot live in America and be free. Can it live in Africa without being barbarous? The colonization of a few thousand blacks on the West Coast has hardly been a sufficiently extended experiment to enable us as yet to answer the question. Liberia certainly gives us great assurances of the probable success of such efforts. But it is yet to be seen how far the influence of negro civilization on negro barbarism will be felt. Will it be imitated, admired, adopted by any of the savage tribes who have never been transplanted? If not—if this experiment fail, then there is no visible hope for the negro race. They may form the subject of political strife in this country for a while; but they will rapidly lose the importance now attaching to them, and cease to be the pets of demagogues, while Africa remains their possession and habitation only until the white races are induced by the love of gold to risk the climate and enter and possess that peninsula.

THE PHILADELPHIA CONVENTION.

From the New York Herald, Sept. 21.

The political firm of Seward, Weed and Raymond, like the sails of a fishing schooner on a new tack, appears to be shivering in the wind. It seems that these conservative Republicans, in cutting loose from their late party associations and in striking hands with the Democracy at the Philadelphia August Convention, expected something more from them than a fusion upon the same platform. A reorganization of the Democratic element with the amalgamating Republicans was counted upon with at least a fair share to the latter of the Congressional and gubernatorial nominations of the new party. It was indeed supposed that the old Democratic organization, with its unfortunate and unforgiven record of the rebellion, was to be buried out of sight, and that its materials, with the floating debris from the Republican party, were to be recast in the form of a new national Union party, with a new name for its new departure. It appears, however, that the Democracy think they have done enough in accepting the Philadelphia resolutions, and that they expect the Johnson Republicans to take back seats in the old Democratic synagogue as organized and governed at its Chicago Peace-at-any price Convention. How much a Congressional nomination or two would effect in the reparation of this mistake we cannot tell, nor is it of any consequence to know, since it is apparent, North and South, East and West, that things have gone too far for any possible combination to defeat the great constitutional amendment now before the country.

THE CONSTITUTION.

From the New York Tribune.

The *Evening Post* says:

"The object and use of a Constitution is to guard the minority against intolerable oppression from a majority."

Well: suppose "a Constitution" to vest in part of a people a close monopoly of power, leaving a majority in some cases, a minority in others, the unprotected serfs and vassals of that self-constituted aristocracy—what then?

This country has been the arena of a powerful, desperate, bloody revolutionary struggle to increase the power and enlarge the dominion of a woman-selling aristocracy. By the blessing of God, the conspirators have been routed and overthrown. We mean to make the most we can of the national triumph for the advancement and security of Universal Freedom. The *Post* applies its drag to the wheel just as the car of Emancipation is gaining its proper momentum. Its logic, followed to its legitimate results, would have precluded the abolition of slavery, as it now embarrasses the enfranchisement of the freedmen. But the car of emancipation will nevertheless roll on.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1866.

PRECAUTIONS.

THERE seems to be no doubt that the Republican party will have abundant success at the coming elections. The verdict of Vermont and of Maine will be echoed by all the loyal States. No doubt that most of them will also adopt the Constitutional Amendment. And though the intrigues of the Johnson party may prevent its ratification by the needed three-quarters, still the sanction of it by a large number of States will give the principle great weight with the loyal masses. Poor as that principle is, wretched treachery as it is to our friends and allies, the negroes—still it is opposed by the South and by her present leader, the President, and its adoption by the loyal North is so far a rebuke to that faction. So much of the blue sky bends over us.

But we are to ask ourselves how much this Republican success really means, and what it guarantees. The enemy is active, bold and unscrupulous. What are loyal men prepared for? Suppose the President lets Congress understand, through private channels, that he feels authorized, and plans to take some decisive step—that, for instance, of recognizing the Southern delegates and their Northern friends as the true Congress—is the Republican majority of the present Congress made of such stuff as to stand firm, allow him to go forward, and be content to appeal to the people in behalf of constitutional government by an impeachment of Mr. Johnson? or will they, acting on those principles of conciliation and expediency which have hitherto ruled the hour, submit to his usurpation rather than risk a collision between the Executive and Legislative branches? We are by no means confident. There are now one hundred and forty members of the House, or about that number, counted as decided Republicans, opposed to the Executive treason. That leaves but one hundred more in a full House of Representatives, even with the Southern rebels admitted. If that majority stands firm, the President will not dare to recognize a rival Congress, even if it contain the whole one hundred minority. But suppose, by cajolery, or any baser means of persuasion, he seduces a part of the majority, and then lets it be known that a body composed of nearly one-half of Congress, and willing to admit all the rest, seems to him the true Congress, and he shall acknowledge it as such, risking collision—is the Republican party firm enough to face the usurper, impeach him, and ignore his Congress? or will some timid and tricky politicians—such as even Massachusetts can show—advise yielding and admitting the South rather than provoke a collision and risk civil war? *If this be possible, then Republican* success is a delusion, a snare, and worse than defeat.

Our text is to be constantly, persistently this: Better a renewal of the war than a surrender of the negro to the control of his old master; better this renewal than a compromise which puts the nation again under the control of the white South. The world said we fought merely for empire, and not for freedom. Mankind will have a right to believe that we did, if now we re-establish the government in such shape as leaves the negro race in the hands of its exasperated foe.

We repeat what we have urged before, that the standpoint from which most men look at reconstruction seems to us mistaken. Men talk of "Guarantees," "Bureaus," "Civil Rights bills," etc., etc., as if the plan should be to *protect* the loyal white and the negro from reconstructed rebels. We might as well talk of surrendering our army and navy and courts to the control of Canada or England, and then arranging treaties to *protect ourselves* against the misuse of those powers by Canada and England.

Rightfully, legally, constitutionally considered, the rebel has no rights—none—no right to property, liberty, or even life. Why give him these, and add to them political power, merely to busy ourselves afterwards in *protecting our friends* against the misuse of powers we have foolishly entrusted to our enemies? The real basis of reconstruction should be to concentrate all power exclusively in the hands of our friends, the loyal white men and the negro. Then we may very properly enact such laws as will protect the pardoned rebels from any possible misuse of this power by our friends. Enact all the Civil Rights bills you please to protect Gov. Aiken and Mayor Monroe from Robert Small, Gov. Hamilton, and the kindred of the victims at Fort Pillow and Memphis; but first give the standard into the keeping of those who rallied round it in the darkest hour. Put the helm into those hands which were always on our side. Tennessee is Gov. Brownlow, his comrades, and the negroes. Put all the rest of the State under their feet. This is safe reconstruction; this is wise and prudent statesmanship. Land, education, the ballot in the hands of loyalty—nothing asked, at present, of pardoned rebels but to obey.

Sheridan said once, on a similar occasion, that he had "heard of men's dashing out their brains against a stone wall; but he had never heard of building a stone wall for the express purpose of dashing out one's brains against it." This is exactly what the loyal North proposes to do. To build up rebel States, dreaming that, by a curious and cunning machinery of laws, they can effectually protect themselves and their friends against this enemy. In reality they are building up a wall, for the express purpose of dashing out their own brains against it.

And this mad scheme is nicknamed "statesmanship," "Christian magnanimity," "policy!" It were well to remember the confession of one of the greatest of English statesmen, and one only too apt and inclined to let justice bend to expediency. Spite of this element in his intellect, BURKE warns us:

"It is with the greatest difficulty that I attempt to separate policy from justice. JUSTICE IS ITSELF THE GREAT STANDING POLICY OF CIVIL SOCIETY, and any *eminent departure* from it, under *any circumstances*, lies under the suspicion of being *no policy at all*."

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

WE invite the attention of our readers in this State to the call for a Convention of Colored Men to be held at Albany, Oct. 16. In view of the approaching Constitutional Convention this will be an important gathering. Of the Constitutional Convention we shall have something to say next week.

IMPEACHMENT.

THE House of Representatives is urged to impeach President Johnson. We add our voice to the demand. There are abundant reasons for the measure and the need of it is self-evident. If the present emergency does not demand a recurrence to this constitutional method of protection, it is impossible to conceive one which would.

But we hold impeachment of little or no value, indeed useless, unless the House, when it lays its articles of impeachment before the Senate, demands that Mr. Johnson be suspended from the exercise of his functions and that —— —— act as President until Mr. Johnson is acquitted or, in any other result of the trial, until the next Presidential terms commences.

Without this the constitutional provision for impeachment of the Executive is a sham. As it is, the remedy is wholly unattainable in ordinary circumstances. But if the impeached President, unlike other accused and impeached officers, is to be allowed to carry on his illegal schemes while on trial and until the Senate pronounces him guilty, the whole provision is worse than useless. The true rule undoubtedly is that when —— —— of the House of Representatives pronounces the President guilty of grave misdeeds and offers to the Senate evidence of its accusation, the incumbent ceases to have a right to exercise his office until acquitted. This is the only construction that leaves any value in the constitutional clause: and when we remember how powerful the Executive must always be to prevent any action against himself by the House, we see there can be no danger in recognizing it as the constitutional rule, although no express provision for it is made in that instrument.

Further still we urge on the Thirty-ninth Congress that before it adjourns, it provide by law for the assembling of the Fortieth Congress on the fifth day of March, 1867. As the Constitution now stands the Fortieth Congress will not assemble till December, 1867; thus leaving the whole term from March 4th to December 4th of that year for the President to plot treason uncontrolled by Congress. This should never be allowed. The Constitution gives Congress the power to remedy it. Let there be no neglect to exercise this power and save the nation from this peril. WENDELL PHILLIPS.

"HALF-LOAF" RESULTS.

"THE best protection the freedman has in the South is the value of his labor in the market; and if he is left free to dispose of this, at all times, to the highest bidder, unshackled by contracts made for him by Bureau officers, no apprehension need be felt for his safety or success. If the freedmen could at this moment demand the wages which the high price of the products of the South would justify, one dollar per day and board would be the ruling wages, instead of ten or twelve dollars per month, the price now paid. But they cannot take advantage of the demand for their labor; they are bound by contracts, enslaved for twelve months, through the agency and influence of the Freedmen's Bureau. The hands on the Mississippi River steamboats were not required to make contracts, and they were getting forty dollars per month and their board for labor less exacting than that of a plantation negro. The freedmen on the Ogechee and Savannah rivers are getting, on the rice plantations, from ten to fifteen dollars per month, under contract for the year, while the laborers employed on the Georgia Central Railroad, which runs between these streams, are getting $1 50 per day.

* * * * * *

"*The system of contracts now existing in the South and enforced by the Bureau is simply slavery in a new form.* What is the difference to the negro, whether he is sold for $5 or $5,000, for 30 years to 30 masters, or for 30 years to one master. It is involuntary servitude in either case, and a practical defeat of the Emancipation Proclamation of the lamented President Lincoln. If the freedman leaves work to seek employment at better wages, he is arrested as a vagrant by the Freedmen's Bureau, and put to labor on the roads, with ball and chain, as is provided by an order recently issued by Gen. Scott, Assistant-Commissioner for South Carolina. If, fatigued from over-work, he desires to rest for a day, if he leaves the plantation to visit a relative or friend, it is made a penal offence, and a fine of $50 is imposed, as will be seen by circular 14 of Gen. Kiddo, Assistant-Commissioner for Texas. If he refuses to contract at all, he is arrested by the Bureau Provost-Marshal, and sold for a few dollars to the nearest planter, as in the case of Capt. Morse of New Orleans, already referred to. The coercive policy adopted by the Bureau, in this and other respects, has been made a justification for the discriminating legislation of some of the Southern States. The only remedy against a white man for a breach of contract is a suit for damages, and we can see no reason why the same remedy should not be applied and conceded in the case of the black man. The freedman has nothing to sell but his labor, and we are strongly of the opinion that he ought to be permitted to obtain for it the highest price it will bring. If he is a freeman it is neither just or lawful for any person to assume control of him, and certainly not more just or lawful for an officer of the Freedmen's Bureau to do so than a Southern planter."

In March, 1865, a correspondent wrote, in the STANDARD, concerning the "emancipated" negro: "Instead of one master, he has, in his new status, a number of masters, doing a joint-stock trade in his 'subjection,' under the firm of 'The People of the United States.' Later, this firm will sell out their interest in the 'subjection' business to 'The People of South Carolina,' Georgia, etc." The STANDARD has steadfastly insisted that, for the negro, "liberty" without the ballot, would be but slavery in another form. Freedmen's Bureau and Civil Rights Acts, and all laws made for the benefit, not of *free*men, but of "*freed*men," were decried by us as the miserable makeshifts of a cowardice which "*knew* the will of my Father in Heaven," and yet dared not do it; as the criminal trickery of that selfishness which for ninety years has made Congress a mart of compromises, where the souls of men and the virtue of women passed for coin.

And now, a witness comes to us from an unexpected quarter, of the sad truth of our warning. Our correspondent has the first part of his prediction fulfilled, and a President daily trying, with a vengeance, to fulfil the second. The extracts we have quoted at the head of our article are parts of the final report of Messrs. Steedman and Fullerton, Presidential Inspectors-General, on the working and condition of the Freedmen's Bureau. Of course, these men were filled with prejudice toward the Bureau before they started on their mission—that is the qualification for which they were selected. But they are too shrewd, likely, to invent or pervert evidence for the benefit of the negro. They have recited these facts because they were too glaring to be with safety ignored. And moreover, the logic of the argument is so evident, that it needs no testimony to prove it. The recital is sufficient.

This Steedman and Fullerton report shows us the Bureau as the engine of a mild "apprenticeship," compared with what it will be when, as rumor prophesies, Steedman shall have replaced Stanton in the War Office, and Fullerton ousted Howard from the Bureau. So far, if that institution has not been under the guidance of enlightened Anti-Slavery views, it has, at least, not yet been infiltrated with hatred of the negro, as it will be when Andrew Johnson has his creatures to work it.

This, however, is but one feature of a broader and more absorbing question, involving the entire business of reconstruction. And here we shall again hold up to the reigning party of the nation that truest of mirrors, if rightly used—an enemy's opinion. The New York *Evening Post*—hostile to the "policy" of Congress, while, for shame's sake, deprecating the results of Mr. Johnson's—says:

"Indeed the [Johnson] Convention would have stood much higher with the public had it pointed out the danger as well of Presidential as of Congressional usurpation. It might have shown how the one naturally and inevitably arises out of the other; how the President's illegal interference with a purely local matter in Louisiana, his deposition of the Governor, and prohibition of free discussion, followed naturally out of the declarations of Congress that the Southern States are not in the position of States, but are subject to the Federal government as provinces. The address should have shown to those who demand that provisional governors shall be appointed in Southern States, that *this is only to place a more dangerous power in the hands of the President;* and its general argument would have been far stronger and more convincing, had it shown that it is for our own comfort, for our own safety, for the security of our rights and liberties, *for the general national welfare, and not for the special benefit of the Southern whites* lately engaged in rebellion, that *it is important and necessary to return as quickly as possible to constitutional forms*, and to the regular and orderly working of all parts of our system of government.

"Nor should the address have omitted to point out to the people that the action of Congress in refusing admission to loyal Southern representatives is unwise and dangerous, not merely because it makes the Southern whites dissatisfied, but also because it paves the way to the most monstrous disorders, the most abhorrent violations not merely of law but of sacred personal rights; and forces upon us a *central despotism*, which would quickly leave us only the name of liberty, and scarcely that. It is not from Congress that these grave dangers would menace us, except as that gave authority and countenance to the mischief—from the Executive would necessarily come the grossest violations of Constitution, law and personal rights. Congress declares the Southern States to be provinces, to be governed by Federal authority, and to be denied representation in Congress: then, by that declaration *it places in the hands of the President*, Commander-in-Chief of the armies and navies of the United States, *dictatorial power* over the lives, liberties, fortunes, movements, of all the people in those States.

"The action of Congress would be the source or cause of all this oppression; but it would have been well to show that the danger is great because of the enormous power it conferred upon the Executive, which is necessarily irresponsible and unaccountable to any one for its use or misuse of such irregular powers. A Louisiana loyalist the other day, after expressing his profound distrust of the President, wound up with the emphatic declaration: 'We must have a provisional government in Louisiana, or we are lost.' But the reply was: 'If Mr. Johnson is the man you believe him, he may make Mayor Monroe your Provisional Governor.' Is this not true? And does it not show how thoughtlessly men invite the greatest dangers, and rush on open destruction."

Now, all this, wrong-hearted as it may be, is certainly not wrong-headed. The error consists in a misrepresentation of the *aims* of Congress, with which the *Post* is at war. Congress's *method* of enforcing, or rather non-enforcing, those aims, should have formed the subject of the cited criticism, to make it correct. The *Post* accuses Congress of delaying the work of reconstruction, of keeping the Southern States unrepresented, in a disorganized condition, subject to Provisional Governors, to "Bureau" and other Executive influences, and "paving the way" to such abuses of Executive power as were exemplified at New Orleans.

This is exactly what we have blamed Congress for doing—not now, in September, 1866, but from December, 1865, when the work of reconstruction was beginning to be surveyed from a cowardly stand-point and tinkered after a dishonest pattern, till July of the present Summer, when it was feloniously deserted in the admission of Tennessee.

With the *Post*, we hold the country's peace to depend on the speediest possible reconstruction and "return to constitutional forms;" and, with it, we hold that it was the duty of Congress—as it had the power—to have achieved this before the past Winter's snows had all melted from South of Mason and Dixon's line; and, with it, we hold that every day the nation continues in its present exceptional State, it drifts nearer to a "central despotism" and concentrates more of "dictatorial power in the hands of the President"—which renders unsafe the "lives, liberties, fortunes, movements, of all the [*loyal*] people in those States."

But we wish to have that "peace" a just one; we desire to see those "constitutional forms" the instruments of liberty; we want to feel the "achievement" to be lasting; we ask that the present "exceptional state" of the nation shall be transmuted into one not merely unexceptional, but unexceptionable, in the eyes of a just God; we require that the "central despotism" of an ex-slaveholder President shall not be supplanted by the more atrocious despotism of a Congressional junta of resurrected slaveholders; we demand that the "dictatorial power," when lifted from "the hands of the President," shall not be laid into those of his rebel friends; we insist that the "lives, liberties, fortunes and movements" of the loyal people in the reconstructed States be rendered at least as safe as those of rebels.

To accomplish all this, we have but one thing to propose to Congress:—not to *impose conditions* on reconstruction, and then *wait* for their acceptance, but TO RECONSTRUCT—at once, direct, single-handed, without hesitation or "experiment!" Empower all loyalists to vote; appoint days and judges of elections; let Conventions, thus "representing the whole people of the State,"* form Constitutions, which will assuredly be republican in form; let "the people" (*unabridged* by complexion) elect their State officers and Congressional representatives; and receive these at once to the national bosom with the embrace of the indulgent parent to his prodigal child. And until all is accomplished, let the military arm guarantee that "usurpation will not be tolerated."

To the people, our criticism of the past and our warning for the future shall have this sense in the present: *Elect a Congress which can be neither bought nor bullied* FROM RECONSTRUCTING AT ONCE, AND RECONSTRUCTING TO LAST!

*See Andrew Johnson's New Orleans dispatch.

MR. PHILLIPS'S DECLINATION.—Our readers will find in another column Mr. Phillips's letter declining the nomination for Congress, and sundry comments thereon from various journals.

We sympathize warmly with his friends, the workingmen of the third district, in the disappointment which his letter occasions them. He could undoubtedly have been elected had he consented to be a candidate, and he would have served efficiently the cause of the laboring classes of all shades of complexion. We are, however, glad that he declines, at present at least, to become a member of Congress, and for the reason that we believe, as we have before stated, that he can serve the cause of impartial freedom better outside of that body.

For some men it might be a gain in the sphere of influence to go to Congress. Not so with Mr. Phillips. With him it would be to exchange the leadership of a nation for that of a party with which the position would identify him. It is less the function of legislators in this country to create popular opinion than to record it. Congress is expected to transcribe that opinion in statutes. That it is too poor a clerk, lagging too far behind, is manifest enough.

The New York *Times* may sneer at Mr. Phillips's statesmanship, but it is because of his masterly exposition, by the voice and pen, of sham statesmanship, and his disinterested claim for impartial justice in the administration of public affairs that it is impossible for the *Times* and "statesmen" of its just now most forlorn school to mislead the people, and cheat the nation by unscrupulous party tricks.

GEN. BUTLER'S speech, which we print on our first page, indicates the high-water mark of Republicanism at the present time. It will be noticed that, after expressing dissatisfaction with the action of Congress in the measures proposed by that body, even he says if the proposition had been accepted by the South (the whites), "we were willing to have restored them again to the seats they had profaned and deserted, and to a fair share of power." Fortunate, indeed, will it be for the country and the blacks if they do not accept it. We say—no restoration which does not assign those profaned and deserted seats to the blacks and loyal whites, to whom they properly belong, until the disloyal whites have shown the fruits of repentance.

ELLA DAVIS ROCKWOOD, of Natick, Mass., well known to many of our New England readers as an advocate of temperance, has prepared a lecture adapted to lyceums, entitled, "A Yankee Girl's Thoughts." It covers the broad field of impartial suffrage for the negro and woman, and embodies a plea for temperance. We have heard Mrs. Rockwood, and can with much pleasure commend her as a truly eloquent and effective lecturer. We trust she may have many invitations to repeat the lecture in New England and elsewhere. Her address is Natick, Mass.

THE extract we give in another column from the *Journal of Commerce* shows that "political moles and bats" have survived the "fiery ordeal" of the last five years.

Gen. Butler, on his way to the Pittsburg Convention, made a speech at Huntingdon, Pa., which is thus reported by the correspondent of the *Traveller*:

My friends, I am much obliged for your courteous and kind reception. I am always glad to see men of sound principles. (Voice—"That's what's the matter with us;" laughter.) I have not a spare copy of the Constitution, nor a spare flag to leave with you (laughter), but I know you have both, and know how to take care of both (applause, and cries of "that's good"); I can therefore only give you my sincere thanks. (Cheers.)

PERSONAL.

Anna E. Dickinson is to open the Institute course of lectures at New Haven, October 8th.

Frederick Douglass, it is said, is soon to commence the issue of a paper, to be devoted to impartial suffrage, at Alexandria, Va.

Rev. Dr. Newman, Superintendent of M. E. Missions and editor of the New Orleans *Advocate*, expects to return to New Orleans about the middle of September.

Henry C. Wright will speak in Ebbit Hall in this city on Sunday, the 30th inst.—in the morning upon "Man and his Destiny;" in the evening upon "Christ the Model Reformer."

Hon. A. M. Clapp having been removed from the Post Office at Buffalo, the Union men of that district have, by acclamation, placed him in nomination for Congress.

Gen. Darius N. Couch, late Democratic candidate for Governor of Massachusetts, and later embracing South Carolina Orr at the Convention of Nasbys, has been appointed Collector of the port of Boston.

It is reported that the Rev. Dr. Van Dyke, of Brooklyn, has been nominated by the board of directors of the Columbia (S. C.) Theological Seminary as professor of Didactic and Polemic Theology in that institution.

The Mobile papers announce that the ex-pirate Raphael Semmes has become the editor of the Mobile *Gazette*. His assistant is Pendleton Colston, Judge Advocate of the Confederate navy during the war.

Abraham Lincoln, cousin of the late President, is an itinerant peddler residing in Harrison county, Indiana. He bears a strong resemblance in form and features to his relative, and relates anecdotes.

John Forsyth, editor of the Mobile *Register*, who was a delegate to the first Philadelphia Convention, and at present travelling through the North, writes to his paper as follows: "The struggle will be here at the North. It is our part at the South to keep quiet and let the North fight it out 'on this line.'"

Rev. Samuel Johnson preached a very interesting and able discourse in the Free church at Lynn on the 16th inst., entitled, "Two Months of History in these Times." It is given in full in the Lynn (Mass.) *Reporter*. We hope to find room for a portion of it next week.

MR. GUSTAVUS MULLER for whose kind assistance during our recent illness we are much indebted, is now absent from the city among the mountains of Ulster County, New York, for a period of rest. In a private letter we have just received from him, dated Ellenville, Sept. 24, he says:

"The political campaign has not commenced here yet. They are awaiting the Assembly and local county nominations. The county is about evenly balanced. The Congressional result, in this district, is doubted by the Republicans. A Radical Republican, it is said, yet administers the Post Office, which seems to indicate that the opposite party can in the immediate neighborhood boast of but few men capable of assuming even that trust.

"The Anti-Slavery people are spirited enough; but Republicans generally, whatever their 'individual preferences' may be, seem to pull docilely enough in Greeley's harness, supporting Congressional policy, the Amendments, and the address of the National Executive Committee of the party.

"After thundering away in the *Tribune*, against 'placing the negro back under the heel of his rebel master, for weeks and months, the 'white-coated philosopher' of pacificatory tendencies once more 'yields' his convictions and with them, those of his too numerous followers, 'to the judgment of the great Union party.' Well, now that Greeley is the Committee,—the Committee being the 'party,'—the above proposition is reduced down to the following plain English: Horace Greeley the philosopher surrenders to Horace Greeley the politician, the reformer to the partisan, the statesman to the juggler, the leader and speaker of 'twenty loyal millions' to the schemer of the committee-room. It is again apparently, Phillip drunk *versus* Phillip sober—Andrew of the White House against Andrew of Nashville—Seward of the State Department *contra* Seward of the Senate—Beecher of Plymouth Church against Beecher of Cleveland—and Dix of Fortress Monroe against Dix of Philadelphia. Oh! that all our great ones must have their measure, that all our good ones have their price—thus putting themselves at last in a box where true can no longer be told from false—the original traitor from the apostate, nor the apostate from the blinded guide, meaning well but doing ill! But—*illah bismillah!*—there are yet a few left of the Old Guard of Humanity—just enough to keep one's faith in the race above water. Wendell Phillips, and a little company of others of 'his set' (as the *Tribune* has it) still live, move and have their being in Sodom—no thanks to the Sodomites though! And the wicked people may yet be saved from the o'erhanging doom."

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 24, 1866.

To the Editor of the Standard:

ELECTION day will be a fortnight from to-morrow. Politicians are full of activity. The people are imbued with zeal, and not the Johnson men, not the copperheads, but those arrayed against them, are animated with hope. Confidence invigorates them, and the bright prospect of success cheers their energies. Their antagonists are not idle, but are working with as much show of earnestness as their lame and wretched cause will justify. There is not that full and free enthusiasm among these which is indicative of the belief in a successful issue, and nothing in their endeavors to imply assurance on their part of accomplishing their object.

What is especially noticeable in the demonstrations on either side, is the difference in the character of the speakers. While the Republicans have had among their orators some of the foremost men of the nation—men of influence, of standing, and of national reputation—their opponents have presented in this respect quite indifferent and undistinguished examples. Among men whose minds are open for instruction and influenced by argument, this fact has a forcible consequence, and is not without significance. Another source of strength and means of service is wanting to the Johnson men, or at least but feebly possessed by them. I mean newspapers. They have but few in our city to advocate their interests, very few, and these are chiefly too harmless to attract the slightest notice. If either of the few has any influence whatever, it is the *Age*; but the character of that journal is so bad, and its reputation so notoriously and inseparably connected with all that is vile in politics and culpable on the side of disloyalty, that its weight is trivial, occasioning no solicitude, and injuring rather than aiding the cause it espouses. It is considered almost disreputable to be seen with the *Age*, and those newsboys who are venturesome enough to carry it, carry it the longest.

I have not met with any man who doubts of Judge Kelley's re-election. There is no room for such doubt, and not the least cause for apprehension. Of all candidates hereabouts, he is most conspicuously the mark of copperhead aversion and acrimony. The defeat of no other man would be hailed by them with so much delight as his. Such an event would fill them with unspeakable joy. But they know how well he is fortified, and that his return is sure. The man who opposes him has been nominated by at least three conventions, representing as many parties or factions, all based upon the same political footing, actuated by similar motives, and having common interests. This man is John Welsh, who has neither merit nor capacity—a commonplace politician, who, during the war, obtained a coveted position through Judge Kelley's influence, whereby wealth flowed into his possession. His new friends will cause a copious outflow of this accumulation, and then leave him, by the force of circumstances, to meditate upon his folly and disappointment, and gather wisdom from his fresh experience.

A desperate effort is being made to deprive the Third Congressional district of its present representation. This is the weakest one in the city, most nearly balanced, and the mongrel element are making it the victim of a vigorous assault. It is the theatre of their best endeavors. Thither their attention turns with most encouragement for their hope, and the opportunity is embraced with all the zeal of partisan spirit. In order to change an apparent into a positive certainty, they have resorted to scheming. They are peopling this district by temporary colonization, having an excessive number of voters in Randall's, and many useless ones in Kelley's and O'Neill's. It is a determined attempt to gain something in an almost hopeless contest, and they are innocent of any scruples or hesitation concerning the means. How much dishonor there is in political practices, and to what base uses politicians apply themselves in order to promote their purposes! But this is an old and familiar fact.

For some time the Union Passenger Railway Company have been running their cars on Sunday. The manner in which they have been patronized is evidence of the public appreciation of the circumstance. It has been a valuable contribution to the convenience and pleasure of citizens, and quite recently other companies have added thereto by running their cars on this day also. Last Winter when the matter was contemplated, or, at least, recommended, the clergy and those over-zealous and tender people whose anxiety to give omnipotence to their own notions of religious duty is so often apparent, raised a great clamor in reference thereto, and opposed the project with all the ardor of intolerant enthusiasts. One meeting after another was called, and many a remonstrating petition was born of their anxious exertions. Apparently their object was attained. The[illegible]re glad, and the people who had no carriages wer[illegible]ft to make the best of the situation. After a time the Union line was granted the privilege of carrying the local mail, and being made a post-road gave the right to run the cars on Sunday. This was at first done only in the morning and evening, till gradually the whole day was embraced in the enterprise. The example being followed by other lines, alarm was created, and those same tender and intolerant people could no longer restrain themselves, in view of this new order of things. They were shocked. They were disturbed in church, albeit those cars, omitting the use of the bells on this day, were as noiseless as their own carriages. They declare that the cars shall cease this unholy encroachment. The people shall not enjoy the desirable privilege of riding on Sunday. They must walk, or stay at home. So the good and tender and intolerant individuals serve an injunction on the first offender, the Union line, and bring their grievance before the court. What the court will do, remains to be seen.

One kindly and sincere word of advice to these zealous gentlemen. They well know that all people of color are forbid entering these same street cars. The privilege is denied them each and every day, day and night, always. They know that this is unjust; they know it is inhuman; they know, or ought to know, that it is an outrage upon the rights of these people that ought not to be practiced; they know that it is a shame, a wrong, a heartless and unpardonable species of cruel despotism, that ought not for one moment to exist in any community, especially where the spirit of Christianity is so exalted, so alive as to protest in the name of religion against these cars running on the Sabbath say. Is not this other a greater crime? Is it not a violation of justice, and a perpetual assault upon this essential Christian principle? Why overlook the greater and graver offence? Why ignore the superior sin? Include this in your complaint. Right this melancholy wrong. Be yourselves more charitable than selfish, and show by one single effort in behalf of these injured people, that you are actuated beyond a doubt, obviously and assuredly, by a holy Christian spirit.

W.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, Sept. 24th, 1866.

EVEN the power implied in the right of conferring office does not enable our unworthy President to obtain functionaries of the precise sort desired at all times, and in all places. The Boston Postmastership, though already assigned by rumor to more than one person, remained in debate, according to the best authority, up to Saturday afternoon. Mr. George Lunt, therefore, has still a chance at it.

Suitors to women are encouraged by a popular proverb not to take No for an answer. The workingmen's party here, and the progressive portion of the Republican party, seem inclined to try the same policy with a man, and to insist on nominating and electing Wendell Phillips to Congress, whether he agrees to stand or not. It is certainly a good thing to try. Your correspondent thoroughly agrees in the opinion expressed in the last STANDARD, that Wendell Phillips will serve the cause of freedom better out of Congress than in it. But it is creditable to the intelligence and good principle of the people making this movement that they understand that their need, and the nation's need, requires statesmen rather than politicians, and intelligent lovers of justice and liberty rather than adroit partisans, to do the work now before the nation. The very act of taking a candidate who refuses to pledge himself to party-measures, and who is known everywhere as the impartial critic of all political policies (as well as of "*my* policy") from the stand-point of justice, speaks well for those who do it, and helps to raise higher that standard of official character to which political aspirants adapt themselves. The mass of the Republicans need such a lesson, and I heartily hope they will profit by it.

Several persons have been spoken of for the office in question. The *Post* says of one of them, "Mr. Whiting has aspirations, but his opposition to the full pay of negro troops will *black*-ball his chance."

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions has just completed a piece of skilful management here, their missionary brig, "Morning Star," having been successfully launched at East Boston. The movers in naval enterprises generally find a heavy preliminary bill of expense incurred in the building of their ship; but the mere building of this vessel has already brought an immense profit to the Board, first of five thousand dollars in cash, the overplus of the collection made for this purpose in two thousand Sunday schools, under the manipulation of the Board's agents, and next, the natural iuterest in the success of the vessel and the work to which she is devoted, insuring further contributions from the little stockholders in coming years, as well as a diligent reading of the periodicals issued by the Board, in which that work is described. In this country many sectarian enterprises are presented to the popular eye and ear under the name of "benevolence," and it is not the "little ones" only who are seduced into the acceptance of them as such. The steady support given by the American Board to slavery as long as they had any missionary connection with the slave-holding Indian tribes, and the dishonest contrivances by which they staved off inquiry into these transactions, have already revealed

presented his usual appearance of health. He died at an early hour the following morning. Of course everybody wished to know what disease was thus suddenly fatal, but none of the papers gratified this natural curiosity. Even the Medical and Surgical Journal gave no name to the cause of this sudden death, but in describing its symptoms it clearly mentioned those characteristic of cholera.

The demand for domestic help in this city is greater than ever, and more scantily and unsatisfactorily supplied than ever. Irish girls with little knowledge or skill, and with other undesirable characteristics, are demanding from three to four dollars a week here besides their board and lodging, and some of them get it, through the absence of any other supply in this market. If good colored "help" could be sent here it would be a profitable transaction alike to servants and mistresses; and the sending of such might in some degree relieve the overburdened relief-offices in various places South of Mason and Dixon's line, where colored people have no work because the ex-slaveholding whites will not employ them. Fifty such sent here would not only be immediately taken up, but would direct public attention to this method of supplying an immense demand; and the coming of numbers together, so that acquaintances among them might keep the run of and occasionally see each other, would help to prevent that feeling of loneliness and home-sickness which has sometimes interfered with the continuance of such persons in new Northern situations. The experiment is certainly worth trying.

Your skilful New York artist, Rogers, has given us another statuette group in addition to his series illustrating the facts and results of the war. This last, called "Uncle Tom's School," shows an old negro (one of whose hands grasps a blacking-brush, while the other scientifically distends a boot in readiness to be operated on), pausing to look at the spelling-book held up to him by an intelligent-looking girl of the same race, and making the mental effort necessary to fix in his mind the name of the letter whose bodily appearance she points out to him. A little black boy on the ground in front holds another spelling-book, very much dog's-eared, but is at present intent, not on his lesson, but on the fun of tickling Uncle Tom's bare foot, which dangles invitingly near him. The raised toes of the foot show its recognition of this mischievous act, but its owner is not thereby diverted, even for a moment, from his pursuit of knowledge.

One of Rogers's groups, I think "One more Shot," has had the merited honor of being repeated in Parian porcelain. "The Wounded Scout," and others of the series, are well worthy of the same distinction. The works of this artist explain themselves with facility to all, and express well what they undertake to express. His power of delineating humorous situations is very remarkable, but his talent is by no means limited to this, for he gives accurate expression to every variety of passion and emotion. He ought to be assisted to try his art upon a larger scale. NORTH.

WENDELL PHILLIPS AND CONGRESS.

We announced last week the nomination of Mr. Phillips for Congress by the Workingmen's Convention of the Third (Mass.) Congressional District. He declines being considered a candidate. We find in the Boston *Traveller* the following letter of declination:

LETTER FROM WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Messrs. D. P. Buller, George E. McNeill, and James Pinkham:

You bring me notice of my nomination to Congress by the working men of the Third Congressional District.

I can find no words hearty enough to express my profound sense of the honor you do me in offering to trust our momentous question, to that extent, in my hands.

I appreciate, also, that tribute of your respect—your willingness to accept my life in the place of pledge, asking no other. Having worked 30 years in behalf of the *labor* of one-half the nation, nothing would give me prouder satisfaction than to stand in Congress the representative, in a special sense, of the cause of labor throughout the nation.

Although, therefore, I have hitherto promptly declined all offers of political trust, still, sincerely desirous to meet your wishes, if possible, I have thoroughly reconsidered the whole subject, but come to the conclusion, as heretofore, that I cannot accept the honor you offer me.

I feel that in accepting office I should, paradoxical as it may sound, incur responsibility to a far greater extent than I should gain power. I do not wish a place of responsibility without all the power which should accompany it. It seems to me that I can, in present circumstances, serve our cause better out of Congress than in it.

Let me congratulate you on this auspicious opening of our political movement. You have shown that, if true to the flag, you can decide on which head Congressional honors shall rest. If we are thus true, our movement, under the full sunshine of public discussion, will soon ripen to complete success.

Most cordially, your fellow-citizen,
WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Sept. 24, 1866.

MR. PHILLIPS'S DECLINATION.

From the Boston Daily Voice.

Our readers will all most deeply regret the decision of this gentleman to decline the nomination tendered him. For our part, we cannot reconcile ourselves to the decision which he has come to. Not only the cause of the workingmen, but the interests of the whole country call for such service in the halls of Congress as he, better than any other man we can send to Congress, is qualified to render.

We think he has mistaken a great opportunity—not, indeed, to enhance his own fame, but to serve his country. We believe he would lose none of that influence he has so long exerted, but would gain something in advantage of position; and of his election we could have no doubt. There is a deep and wide-spread desire to have him go to Congress, and the enthusiasm awakened in the community by his nomination has been every-day increasing.

From the Boston Traveller.

We are sorry to have to state that Mr. Phillips declines to be a candidate for the post of Representative of the Third Congressional District. We regret his decision, though we know it has been honestly made; and we regret it the more, because we are confident—nay, we are certain—that he would have been elected by a large majority, had he been the candidate of the liberal men of all parties in his district. So able and eloquent a man, who is so complete a representative of that spirit which is now in the ascendant, and which is destined to rule the whole country, would never have failed in a district that gave four thousand Republican majority in 1864, and the Radical sentiment in which has largely increased.

From the Brooklyn Union.

Wendell Phillips declines the nomination to Congress proffered him by the workingmen of his district, on the ground that he can be more useful in private life than in official station. He is right. His field is to lead in the way of progress, and he would find himself ill at ease to be called upon, as he would in Congress, to modify his abstract doctrines of the right is deference to the inflexible demands of the practical. Yet we would be glad to know that Mr. Phillips's severe yet polished—and the more severe because the more polished—denunciations of the wrong were to be henceforth uttered from a forum where they would have more significance as an embodiment of public opinion than they ever can have as the expressions of a mere individual. Wendell Phillips in Congress would exert a powerful influence upon the destinies of the nation, and would give a more healthy tone to the debates than they now have.

From the New York Times.

Mr. Wendell Phillips declines a nomination for Congress, for the reason that he does not "wish for a place of responsibility without all the power which should accompany it." We must congratulate him upon the soundness of his judgment, and the candor with which he makes public the estimate which he has formed of his probable influence in the Legislative Assembly. As he very justly infers—there is a very different appreciation of his position by different classes of politicians. By a numerous body of extreme writers and thinkers he is accounted an oracle, and among them he has undoubtedly a certain sort of "power," which he uses with all the vigor of which he is capable. By the larger class of our fellow-citizens—those who love the Union for its own sake, and who have a regard for its welfare and self-respect—Mr. Phillips is looked upon as simply an agitator who would sacrifice country and safety for the sake of his particular dogma. Such agitators may be necessary, and they may have a work to perform. The very effort of a community to guard against the effects of their violent philippics has a tendency to bind sober-minded people together, and to caution them against mere demagogueism. They are but temporary incidents in any great political struggle, and they seldom gain more than the mere mention of their names in history. Born agitators, agitators they remain; but they never become statesmen. They disturb, but never build up society. They make a noise, but the echo very soon dies away. Mr. Phillips is perfectly right—in a miscellaneous crowd, consisting of his admirers, and those admirers as prejudiced as himself, his rhetoric has "power." But as a member of Congress he would meet speakers, of perhaps less ornate oratory, but certainly equal talents with himself. It may be even that common-sense utterances might have him sometimes at a disadvantage. Why should he subject himself to comparisons that might be odious? The real mission of Wendell Phillips is, as he practically owns, not among deliberative bodies, but rather among admiring troops of disciples. It is pleasant to notice one instance in which the worship of disciples has not turned a prophet's brain, and that, much as has been made of Wendell Phillips in certain quarters and by certain unpracticable people, he still retains a sufficiently just appreciation of his "power" not to aspire to a wider sphere than that in which he has his being.

From the Boston Traveller.

The refusal of Wendell Phillips to allow the use of his name as a candidate for Congress in the Third District causes some discussion in political circles to-day. The two persons most talked of for the place, now, are Wm. Whiting of Roxbury, and Ginery Twichell of Brookline. We have already spoken of the qualifications of Mr. Whiting for that position, and they are well known to all the readers of the *Traveller*. The name of Mr. Twichell is now presented for the first time, and his friends are pressing his claims with considerable zeal and enthusiasm. They urge that he is a man of superior executive ability, as shown in his management of the Worcester Railroad, with rare powers for organizing, and for carrying out whatever he undertakes. He is also noted for his zeal in good works, and for the energy and liberality with which he engaged in the charitable and philanthropic enterprises connected with the recent war. They also urge in his favor his spotless integrity, the purity of his private life, his willingness to confer neighborly favors, his large acquaintance with the public men of the country, and his thorough knowledge of the business interests of the citizen of the community. Especially is it urged that his position as a railroad man of long experience and mature judgment will be found advantageous to New England when the Pacific Railroad question comes up for consideration, as it will during the next Congress.

Other new names have been suggested, and the canvass promises to be a lively one.

WENDELL PHILLIPS FOR CONGRESS.

To the Editor of the Standard.

One of the most significant signs of the times is the fact that the "great agitator" has received the *unanimous* nomination of the workingmen in Convention in Boston recently. It is our opinion that Mr. Phillips now only needs to receive the nomination of the Republicans of the district, to be carried in by a handsome majority. He is already committed to the advocacy of the interests of workingmen, who declare they will have no other candidate. Here, then, is a strong element to begin with. In addition, he can safely count upon the anti-slavery vote, and the vote of *all those Republicans who believe in impartial suffrage.* And what honest Republican does not believe in it? The only obstacle in the way—and it seems insuperable—is Mr. Phillips's own consent to stand a nomination. We do not know as he has positively declined in advance of such nomination; but it is understood that he does not consider his sphere of usefulness to be in Congress. All we know is, that he *ought to be there,* to contront with his manly truth the greatest lie in office and conscience—unless Seward be the exception—in Christendom. His presence alone would be a guarantee that the next session of Congress would not pass by without a *trial of strength,* and an impeachment of the principal traitor. And we see no reason why Mr. Phillips should not himself do what he has been urging his radical friends to do, viz.: to go in this Fall and work with the Republican party. To work with them, but not for them, nor for their amendments, but for something better. Mr. Phillips we know believes that the public opinion of this country is ready to sustain negro suffrage or the most advanced measure of reconstruction. If the people seem to hang back, it is due to the timidity and treachery of their leaders. But boldly strike the key-note, and then screw public opinion up to the sticking-point. Get all you can, says Mr. Phillips, and then fling your banner a body-length in advance with a command to the rank and file to "fall in and close up!" So say we, and Mr. Phillips is our leader.

Yours, etc. RECONSTRUCTION.

UNIVERSAL PEACE SOCIETY.

Pursuant to the adjournment at Providence, R. I., May 16, 1866, the Universal Peace Society will meet in Philadelphia, October 10, 1866, at the Hall of the Franklin Institute, Seventh street above Chestnut, at 3 o'clock, and continue through several sessions.

To all friends of pure and thorough peace principles, and of those necessary conditions which make for peace; and to all persons, irrespective of theological or political belief, who reverently acknowledge our obligations to God and man, and who earnestly desire something better for the government of the world and the settlement of difficulties than the war-power and the spirit of hate and oppression which make for war, a cordial invitation is extended to be present and co-operate in promoting the sacred cause. Earnest friends from various parts of the country are expected to address the meeting.

ALFRED H. LOVE, President, Philadelphia.
LYSANDER S. RICHARDS, Boston, } Secretaries.
LAURA BLIVIN, Providence, }

At 11 o'clock, on the morning of the 10th of October, 1866, the friends of the cause in Pennsylvania will meet in the above-mentioned hall, to organize the Pennsylvania Branch of the Universal Peace Society, and it is hoped the State will be well represented.

COLORED SCHOOLS IN THE SOUTH.

APPEAL FOR THEIR SUPPORT.

The American Freedmen's and Union Commission, New York branch, issues the following appeal for help to keep its schools open in the Southern States:

"After a year of comparative growth and prosperity, during which we sent two hundred and twenty-two teachers into the South, and employed in our work of relief and education supplies and money to the extent of $339,680 24, we find ourselves now at the commencement of a new year with an empty treasury, and continuing liabilities as long as our work goes on, to the amount of $5,000 per month.

"Under these circumstances the board of trustees have appointed Rev. Wm. G. Hawkins, late our Corresponding Secretary, whose long familiarity with our work renders him especially fitted for the duty, as special financial agent, to make an earnest appeal to the public for means to prosecute our work.

"To those interested in this great work of social, moral, and industrial elevation in the midst of a people struggling for a better life—especially to those who have hitherto supported us—the question now comes, shall the blessing inaugurated, and thus far maintained by your beneficence, continue? This you alone can determine.

"Our duty is fulfilled when we have presented the magnitude of this necessity to you, and we cannot doubt your response when you remember that with every teacher discontinued, fifty pupils, now greedy for knowledge, capable of being made an element of moral strength and material prosperity to the nation, are demoralized by discouragement, and turned to habits of vice, disorder, and unthriftiness.

"No future can repair our neglect of this present opportunity. God's war has ploughed our fields; now is our seed-time. 'As we sow, so shall we reap.' What shall the harvest be?

"FRANCIS G. SHAW, President.

"GEORGE C. WARD, Ch. Finance Com.
"HENRY A. DIKE, Ch. Ex. Com.
"J. MILLER MCKIM, Ch. Teachers Com.
"September 10, 1866."

Mr. Hawkins gives the following facts and figures in a special appeal:

"N. Y. BRANCH F. U. C.,
76 JOHN STREET, NEW YORK.

"*To the Friends of Impartial Education in the South:*

"There are 800,000 colored children in the South needing education and eager for the advantages of common schools, add to this nearly 600,000 whites, who can neither read nor write, making in all 1,400,000, that are capable of being made an immense blessing to the nation morally, religiously, socially and pecuniarily. Of this number only 14,048 have been in our schools the past year. For want of funds only 250 teachers have been sent, where 25,000 are needed. Only 1,405 teachers and 90,778 pupils have been sustained by all the volunteer societies. Our present engagements will deplete our treasury to the last cent, and we must soon announce to our old teachers that our treasury is empty, and that they cannot be retained, unless contributions come in more rapidly.

"General Howard, in the letter subjoined, informs us that the Bureau cannot pay teachers salaries or board; this whole expense comes on the various societies laboring for the cause. We must have $20,000 by the 1st of November. We call upon the teachers who have returned to their homes, and all others interested in having this work progress, to use what influence they may have in obtaining the sum above proposed. All money and checks should be sent to the Treasurer, Joseph B. Collins, No. 40 Wall street, or to the Corresponding Secretary, specifying for the $20,000 fund.

* * * "Five hundred dollars will support a teacher for the school year. Any church or local society contributing that amount may, with the information of that fact, send the name of the teacher whom it wishes to nominate for appointment to the secretary.

"WM. GEO. HAWKINS, Financial Agent."

The following are the officers of the Commission:

Francis George Shaw, President; W. C. Bryant, John Jay, Dr. E. Parmly, Vice-Presidents; Joseph B. Collins, Treasurer, 40 Wall street; Geo. C. Ward, Recording Secretary.

CALL FOR A STATE CONVENTION.

TO THE COLORED CITIZENS OF NEW YORK.

The war of steel is over, so it is declared, but the war of ideas must go on until in this country true democratic principles shall prevail.

Upon the colored men of the country, and especially of this great State, the successful issue of that battle much depends.

A proportion of us are voters, even under the unjust discrimination against us in the State Constitution. We need to mass our votes on the side of justice.

A large proportion of us are (on account of that unjust discrimination) shut out from our right to vote, as citizens of the United States, and of the State of their birth and adoption.

To secure the right of suffrage should be our first effort. As a means to this end, we should

1. Unitedly urge our professed friends, who hold the political power, to vote for a "Convention to revise the State Constitution."

2. We should use our influence and votes for men who will favor such Convention.

3. We should then bring all our influence to bear to secure the desired change in the words of that Constitution—the removal of the property qualification as applied only to men of color.

4. We need to appoint a *State Central Committee* composed of representative men, who may act for the people during the ensuing year—a year likely to be one of the most important in our history.

5. The coming election is an important event in the history of this State, and we should meet our responsibilities in reference to it like men. Let us count up our numbers, and let us ask politicians in all parties if that number of voters is worthy of consideration.

We therefore by authority, vested in us by William Rich, Esq., Chairman of the State Central Committee, hereby recommend the people to assemble by delegates in State Convention, in Albany, at 12 o'clock, noon, on Tuesday, the 16th day of October, 1866.

Newspapers are requested to notice this call and adhesions to it may be sent to Wm. Rich, Esq., Troy, New York, or to *Zion's Standard and Weekly Review,* 574 Broome st., New York City.

Wm. Howard Day, James W. Duffin, Charles B. Ray, Edward V. Clark, Geo. Smith, James J. Spelman, John G. Zuille, *Committee of Mass Meeting New York City.*

Wm. Rich, Troy, Wm. H. Johnson, Albany, John Peterson, Wm. Spelman, Wm. H. Decker, Jacob Day, Senior, J. H. Townsend, Wm. F. Randall, *New York City.*

P. W. Ray, N. R. Ashby, J. Morris Williams, *Brooklyn.*

LITERARY.

The (London) *Spectator* says:

"It is worthy of remark that the English party which during the war reproached the North most bitterly for not caring a button for the negroes whom they were enfranchising, are now warmly supporting precisely that section of Northern opinion against which this accusation was and is true, and vilifying to the best of their powers precisely that section of Northern opinion which took up the cause of freedom in earnest, and not as a *mere* weapon against disunion. The explanation is obvious. During the war, to charge the North with insincerity on the ground that it did not really care for freedom or the negro, served the friends of slavery. *Now,* to *support* those who do not care for freedom or the negro serves the friends of slavery still. There is a real consistency beneath the seeming inconsistency."

The last received issue of the same paper (Sept. 8th) after referring to the popular admiration of President Johnson's policy in England, which it thinks owing to "defective knowledge and the consistent misrepresentations of the *Times,*" gives its own different judgment as follows:

"We hold, on the other hand, on grounds which we believe to be as sure as the political principle for which we fought throughout the war, that President Johnson, in alliance, first, with all the warmest partisans of slavery both Southern and Northern, and next, with all that ignoble party among the Northern Republicans headed by Mr. Seward, Mr. Raymond, and Mr. Thurlow Weed, who would cheerfully ignore either slavery or the systematic cruelty which has supplanted slavery in the South, for the sake of conciliating the Southern whites to the Union, is endeavouring to 'plaster up,' as Mr. Johnson himself happily expresses it, a wound which by the processes he adopts he can never heal—and that instead of assimilating the Southern to the Northern society by radically extinguishing the evil institution on which the fundamental difference between the two social systems rests, he is daring all in his power to vindicate for the ex-slaveholders the full right to keep as much of the poison of slavery as is consistent with the mere abolition of the name. And not only so; he is doing his best, in conjunction with his unworthy allies, to destroy all the faith placed by those negro soldiers who turned the balance of success in favor of the North, in the honor and the power of the great Republic for which they fought. He is handing them over, bound hand and foot, to the very enemies against whom they fought, who are massacreing them day after day without any shadow of excuse but personal hatred and the violence of the mean white class. And when Congress, by virtue of that clause in the Constitutional Amendment, now part of the United States law, which secured itself power to carry out the abolition of slavery 'by appropriate legislation,' offers the President power to prevent this treachery and wrong, and to secure for a sufficient time to the negroes of every State proper protection and full civil rights, he thrusts it aside with coarse jokes, laughs at the great expense which Congress proposes to lavish on so insignificant an object as keeping faith with four millions of people—the only truly loyal population in the South—and speaks of the *unconditional* right of the late rebels to representation in Congress, though that unconditional right means the unconditional right of the lately rebellious whites to *deny* to the negro loyalists all such representation, or rather to seize on that representation in their name, while advocating everything which the negroes most fear and hate."

The history of a successful piece of literary thievery has been given to the world by M. Lépold Delisle in some "Observations on the Origin of Several Manuscripts in the Collection of M. Barrois." In the famous library at Ashburnham place, Sussex, is a collection of 702 manuscripts, formed by M. J. Borrois, and purchased by Lord Ashburnham in 1842. M. Barrois died in 1855, and a sketch of his life was printed in the *Bulletin* of the Société de l'Histoire de France for 1856. Ashburnham place is out of the way and not often visited by literary inquirers. Lately, however, M. Paul Meyer of the Bibliothèque Impériale, was admitted there and was presented with a copy of the catalogue of the collection. His friend, M. Delisle, borrowed this catalogue, and on reading it over was struck with the similarity of names and subjects to those of a quantity of manuscripts which were stolen from the library, now the Bibliothèque Impériale, about 25 or 30 years ago. Pursuing his inquiries he found that 33 of the most valuable volumes of which the Bibliothèque was plundered had been picked up by M. Barrois, and were now in the Ashburnham collection. Some of them were in their original condition, but most of them were cut to pieces and rebound by the plunderers, so as to multiply the apparent number of manuscripts.

A remarkable book has been published at Paris, in which, under the title, "Manifeste du Magnetisme du Globe at de l'Humanite," the author, Capt. Bruck, endeavors to prove that the destiny of the human race is influenced by the earth's magnetism. In like manner as the zodiacal light, shooting stars and other natural phenomena are referable to an effect of magnetism; so are great events in the history of nations and individuals. For example, the 9th day of November is the day of least magnetic circulation and of least physical and moral energy, while the 22d of June is the day of most circulation and most energy. The 18th Brumaire (Nov. 9) was a memorable day in the life of the First Consul; the 22d of June saw the finish of the Empire. Then, again, it is to magnetism that certain great moral movements are due—Teutonism in Prussia, Anglicanism in England, Gallicanism in France, and Catholicism in the Papal States. Moral philosophers will perhaps be amused at this mode of treating their special subject—whether science will be benefited thereby is another question. Capt. Bruck states that he is prepared for clamor, and to be treated as a dreamer.

An important transfer of book property has just been made in Boston. Little, Brown & Co. have sold to Ticknor & Fields the stereotype plates and the entire stock of the series of volumes known as "The British Poets," the most complete and desirable collection of British poetry extant. Tickpor & Fields will now incorporate with it the works of the later and living poets, already published by them, thus giving the series greater fulness and value. Little, Brown & Co.'s edition numbers one hundred and thirty volumes. Some time ago Ticknor & Fields purchased from Mason Brothers the plates of James Parton's works.

ART ITEMS.

Sohigr and Reed are the names of two rising young sculptors in Montreal, Canada.

The British Museum has paid $3,000 for a small pen and ink sketch of Raphael.

Dupre has been commissioned to execute a monument to the late Count Cavour, the Italian statesman, at Florence, and is to be paid $50,000 for it.

Hughes, a painter of London, has produced a painting of the calamitous conflagration at Santiago, which occurred about three years ago.

Whitredge, one of our best landscape painters, has just returned from the Plains and Rocky Mountains with a large number of sketches.

Miss Duront, a female sculptor, has been commissioned by Queen Victoria to execute a monument to the late King of the Belgians.

Mr. W. H. Carpenter, a distinguished member of the art circle of England, died lately at the age of seventy-five.

A statuette of Longfellow, representing him writing with a bust of Dante by his side, has just been produced.

Mr. Hart, an American sculptor, long resident in Florence, has lately completed a remarkable group called the Triumph of Woman, the aim of which is expressed by the action of a beautiful woman, who robs Cupid of his last arrow.

SUMMARY.

A large and enthusiastic Convention of "Radical" Soldiers and Sailors was held at Syracuse, N. Y., on the 20th inst. Their address says: "If the Constitutional Amendment secured, or the laws of Congress already passed, are not adequate to give the promised freedom—if defiant rebels still baffle and thwart and prevent the measures intended to redeem our pledge—how can we consistently with our sacred honor suspend our efforts to compel full and complete submission by still further amendments and appropriate legislation? We utterly deny the partisan doctrine which, co-operating with the Presidential policy, would terminate and demolish our military rights and power to act in aid of the civil power the instant that hostilities end, by the overthrow and dispersion of armed rebellion."—On Friday evening, the 21st inst., a meeting in commemoration of the life and character of the Rev. John Pierpont was held in Dodworth's Hall in this city. Oliver Johnson presided, and addresses were delivered by Rev. O. B. Frothingham, Henry C. Wright, and Emma Hardinge.—George Francis Train is announced as the independent Fenian candidate for Congress in Nebraska.—John Morrissey is likely to be honored with a seat in Congress from this city.—Gov. Wells of Louisiana denies the report now in circulation from New Orleans, that he had determined to support President Johnson.—Oregon is added to the States which have ratified the Constitutional Amendment.—Henry Ward Beecher maintained a studied silence on public affairs last Sunday, as on the Sunday previous. He has written another letter to explain away the force of the letter which appeared in the *Tribune* as emanating from his congregation, and from which the inference to be drawn is that his views are shared by his members. He is fitly answered by Stephen M. Griswold, Esq., a member of Plymouth Church, who explains the origin of the Church letter, and says: "And now in reference to the address not having been approved by the members of the Church, I propose to put that question at rest by making this proposition: I will agree to deposit with Mr. Beecher $1,000, to be distributed among the poor of his Church, if he will show that *one*-quarter of the members of Plymouth Church agree with the views expressed by him in his Cleveland letter, or disapprove of the sentiments contained in the Plymouth Church address."—The advent of Madame Ristori, the distinguished actress, is a sensation event at present in the dramatic circles in the city.—The "Radical" Soldier's Convention at Pittsburgh is in progress as we write, with an immense attendance and great enthusiasm.—A large meeting was held on Friday evening last at the Bridge street colored church of Brooklyn, to commemorate the issuing of President Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation. Speeches were made, and a series of resolutions passed to the effect that the issuing of the proclamation had imposed upon the people of the United States the solemn duty of establishing in every State the principles that will govern and protect every citizen as equal before the law.

INTERESTING TO LADIES.

The following extracts are from the testimony taken under oath in a recent case pending before the United States Patent office upon the actual merits of the Grover & Baker Sewing Machine, and its relative merits as compared with other machines.

Mrs. Dr. McCready says:

I have used for nine years a Grover & Baker Machine, and upon it I have done all kinds of family sewing for the house, for my children and husband, besides a great deal of fancy work, as braiding, quilting, and embroidering. During all that time my machine has never needed reapair, except when I had the tension altered and it is as good now as it was the first day I bought it.

* * * * * * *

I am acquainted with the work of all the principal machines including Wheeler & Wilson's, Finkle & Lyon's, Wilcox & Gibbs, Ladd & Webster's, the Florence machines, and Sloat's machines, besides a number of the $10 ones; and I prefer the Grover & Baker to them all because I consider the stitch more elastic. I have work now in the house which was done nine years ago, which is still good; and I have never found any of my friends who have used the other machines able to say the same thing.

Mrs. Dr. Whiting gives the following reasons for the superiority of the Grover & Baker machines over all others:

The elasticity of the stitch, and ripping when it is required; and also the stitch fastening itself, as you leave off; and also the machine may be used for embroidering purposes; and therein consists the superiority over other machines.

The stitch will not break when stretched, as the others do, and neither does it draw the work.

I find this stitch will wear as long as the garments do—outwear the garments, in fact.

I can use it from the thickest woolen cloth to Nansook muslin.

Mrs. Alice B. Whipple, wife of Rev. Mr. Whipple, Secretary of the American Missionary Association, testifies:

Q. As the result of your observation and experience, what machine do you think best as a general family instrument?

A. The Grover & Baker, decidedly.

Q. State the reasons, such of them as occur to you, for this opinion.

A. I think the stitch is a stronger stitch than that of any other machine I have seen used, and it seems to me much more simple in its management than other machines. One great advantage is the ease with which the seam is ripped when necessary to do so; and I think that the work by an experienced person on a Grover & Baker machine is better than work of such person on any other machine. It requires more skill to work other machines than the Grover & Baker.

Mrs. Gen. Buell says she prefers the Grover & Baker machine over all others.

On account of its durability of work, elasticity of stitch, and the strength of stitch. It never rips.

It is preferred over all others; it is very easy in its movements, and very easily adjusted, and very simple in its construction.

We can accomplish more in one week by this sewing-machine than we can in one month by hand-sewing.

Mrs. Dr. Watts says:

I have had several years' experience with a Grover & Baker machine, which has given me great satisfaction. Its chief merit is that it makes a strong elastic stitch; it is very easily kept in order, and worked without much fatigue, which I think is a very great recommendation. I am not very familiar with any other machine, except a Wheeler & Wilson, which I have had. I think the Grover & Baker machine is more easily managed, and is less liable to get out of order.

I prefer the Grover & Baker, decidedly.

Mrs. A. B. Spooner says:

I answer conscientiously, I believe it to be the best, all things considered, of any that I have known.

In the first place, it is very simple and easily learned. The sewing from the ordinary spool is a great advantage; the stitch is entirely reliable. It does ornamental work beautifully, and the embroidery stitch. It is not liable to get out of order. It operates very easily. I suppose I can sum it all up by saying it is a perfect machine.

I have had occasion to compare the work with that of other machines. The result was always favorable to the Grover & Baker machine.

Mrs. Dr. Andrews testifies:

I prefer it to all other machines I have known anything about for the ease and simplicity with which it operates and is managed; for the perfect elasticity of the stitch; the ease with which the work can be ripped, if desired, and still retain its strength when the thread is cut or accidentally broken; its adaptation to different kinds of work, from fine to coarse, without change of needle or tension.

Mrs. Maria J. Keane, of the house of Natalie, Tilman & Co., says:

Our customers all prefer the Grover & Baker machine for durability and beauty of stitch.

Mrs. Jennie C. Croly (Jennie June) says:

I prefer it to any machine. I like the Grover & Baker machine in the first place because if I had any other I should still want a Grover & Baker; and having a Grover & Baker it answers the purpose of all the rest. It does a greater variety of work, and it is easier to learn than any other. I like the stitch because of its beauty and strength, and because, although it can be taken out, it don't rip, not even by cutting every other stitch.

The foregoing testimony establishes beyond question First- The great simplicity and ease of management of the Grover & Baker machines.

Second. That they are not liable to get out of repair.

Third. That a greater variety of work can be done with them than with other machines.

Fourth. That the elasticity of the stitch causes the work to last longer, look neater, and wear better than work done on other machines.

Fifth. That the facility with which any part of a seam can be removed when desired is a great advantage.

Sixth. That the seam will retain its strength even when cut or broken at intervals.

Seventh. That besides doing all varieties of work done by other Sewing Machines, these machines execute beautiful embroidery.

Over one hundred other witnesses in the case above referred to testified to the superiority of the Grover & Baker Machines in the points named in substantially the same language, and thousands of letters have been received from all parts of the world stating the same facts.—*Home Journal.*

Advertisements.

The American News Company, 121 Nassau street, New York, will supply The Standard to news dealers and others in or out of the city.

REMOVAL NOTICE.

The office of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society has been removed from No. 5 South Fifth street, to the old stand, No. 107 North Fifth street, where it was formerly located for upwards of twenty years. Specimen numbers of the Anti-Slavery Standard furnished and new subscriptions received as above.

BENJAMIN C. BACON, Corresponding Secretary.

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GEORGE W. CALEFF,
26 23 Boston, Mass.

W. W. BROOM, Esq., Editor of the *Temple of Opinions,* will answer calls to lecture in behalf of impartial freedom, if addressed at 79 John street, N. Y. 20 29

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A CONSUMPTIVE CURED.

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☞ The writer will please state the name of the paper they see this advertisement in. Address CRADDOCK & CO.,
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LETTER PAPER,	WRITING INKS,
CAP PAPER,	INK STANDS,
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BILL PAPER,	WEDDING CARDS,
ENVELOPES,	WATER COLORS,
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Blank Books of every description made to order, of best material. Printed Books will be furnished at the Publishers' prices.

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It has a straight-needle perpendicular action, makes the LOCK or SHUTTLE STITCH, which will NEITHER RIP nor RAVEL, and is alike on both sides; performs perfect sewing on every description of material, from Leather to the finest Nansook Muslin, with cotton, linen, or silk thread, from the coarsest to the finest number.

Having neither CAM nor COG WHEEL, and the least possible friction, it runs as smooth as glass, and is emphatically
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GEO. W. STAKE, Secretary and Treasurer.

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The Fall term commences on the first Third-day of the Ninth month (September).

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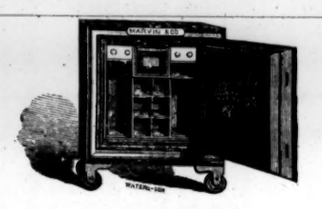

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FOR THE STANDARD.

HAND IN HAND.

Down on the shining, golden beach,
Watching the billows kiss the strand,
Chasing the waves that mock our reach,
Lottie and I go hand in hand.
Summer or Winter, what care I?
Down by the sea,
Happy are we;
For hand in hand go Lottie and I.

Lottie is twelve, and I am—*more*,—
Pshaw! I'll out with it like a man!
I am twenty—an honest score,
If it comes to *that*; but "win who can"—
That's *my* motto, so what care I?
Down by the sea,
Happy are we;
For hand in hand go Lottie and I.

She will have plenty of lovers yet:
What with her sweet and heartsome way,
Her cheeks like pinks, and her eyes like jet,
Won't she dazzle them all some day?
Wont you Lottie?—but what care I?
Down by the sea,
Happy are we;
For hand in hand go Lottie and I.

I have a spell that they wot not of—
The careless lovers; and when they come,
Prating, may be, of their tardy love,
I have a word that will strike them dumb:
"*First come, first served*"—so what care I?
Down by the sea,
Happy are we;
For hand in hand go Lottie and I.

Yes, *hand in hand!* and I mean to hold
That little hand, till it clings to mine
With a clasp that only Death, the Bold—
And not even he—can quite untwine!
No, not even he!—so what care I?
Down by the sea,
Happy are we;
For hand in hand go Lottie and I.

Fitchburgh, Mass. CAROLINE A. MASON.

THE NEGRO AS ARTIST.

MORGAN SMITH.

THE mountainous territories of Western America are not more certainly rich in mineral treasures as yet untouched, than are the millions of the black race on the Eastern slopes of the same continent rich in artistic gifts as yet almost undeveloped. Many years of familiar knowledge of negroes has convinced me that they are born orators, painters, sculptors, musicians, actors, though for the present dwarfed by the spell of the wicked magician OPPRESSION, whose hideous skill is still at work in many parts of the world transforming princes into beasts. How well do I remember a negro boy belonging to my father, who used to attend my brother and myself daily some two miles into the country to school, and whose genius makes that old path bright to this day, in my memory, with immortal flowers! Poor Charles, what songs he sang, what mimicries he was master of, with what glorious romances he held us spell-bound, so that the two miles seemed but a span too quickly accomplished! But when at length he found that in the race for improvement we must leave him in the legally-guarded ignorance and pass on to attainments which led us beyond and out of his reach—he had more gifts than any other boy I ever knew in Virginia—his genius turned to poison. By one and another outbreak he startled the neighborhood, until the village magistrates determined that the only fit place for a daring negro genius was a plantation in the far South, where, I suppose, for I know not, my boyhood's hero chafed a hard yoke till he wore through it into the freedom which death alone could give. But he is only one of a goodly number whom I have known among that race who have convinced me that, in robbing the black man of culture and opportunity, the whites are equally robbing themselves. As there is many an old dingy piece of ground which holds within it the seed and larvæ of rare and beautiful things, and which a season of tropical breath would clothe with rich flowers, haunted by bright-winged and gorgeous insects, animated sunbeams, so do I well know that under the warm clime of humane and sympathetic treatment that poor race would yield gorgeous contributions to America. Even now the very slight lifting of the Winter of wrong has shown a bursting forth of energies which cannot escape the notice of observing men. Alfred Tennyson finds that the American colored artist whom he has lately entertained at Faringford has alone caught the spirit of his "Lotus-eaters." I once saw Carlyle's face flush when some one embodied the greater part of his Philosophy in Frederick Douglass's noble sentiment—"One with God is a majority"—a sentiment chiefly remarkable for its artistic perfection. If the thirty millions of white Americans were not mostly fools they would seize the great opportunity of to-day and not only lay forever the trouble with which justice—that divine demon—will harry us until we do justly, but would obtain from the negro race that tropical glow, that oriental imaginativeness and passion, the absence of which is making this day every gallery of paintings in England and America almost as cold and conventional as so much upholstery.

But equally, perhaps still more, will the negro when his opportunity shall come—as it must—shine in the dramatic art. His appreciation of costume and scenic effect, his incomparable imitativeness, and his intensity, combine to render him especially strong in this direction. The ubiquitous negro-minstrels whom our friend Pillsbury well described as blacker inside than they are out, represent the mere rudiment of the true negro's dramatic ability; but the popularity of these, poor as they are, rests upon the fact that it is an original addition to the cold and formal Anglo-Saxon entertainment. At this moment there is not a single tragedian in this hemisphere who is attracting so much attention as the negro actor Ira Aldridge. He has made the fortunes of several managers, and can command his own prices. A friend who saw him lately acting as Hamlet at the largest theatre in St. Petersburg, tells me that the crowds that attend are suffocating,—though Aldridge cannot speak a word of any language but English, which few Russians can understand. He carries on his part in English, the rest using Russian! What then must be his power of impersonation! Now this man, Ira Aldridge, as I have from good authority, is one who never had any training as an actor. He was a barber in New York, who made himself so valuable as a stage hair-dresser to Mr. Wallack, that that actor brought him over to Europe with him when he (Wallack) came on a professional tour here. Aldridge's sole training was that of attending to Wallack when he was studying up his parts, and going to the theatres and watching various actors. He imbibed something from each and all. Everything that thrilled the crowd he noted down in his memory. Had he remained in America he would probably have been a barber yet, unless indeed he had been killed by those artists in negro-slaughter who gave an exhibition in New York in '63. Either of these might have been the destiny of this man of genius, had he remained in the "land of the free." But in the land of the autocrat of Russia he is the king of the drama. Had he been petroleum, America might have utilized him, no doubt.

And now here is another history:

There was, some years ago, a good-looking but quite dark negro youth, a native of Philadelphia, who managed to get some money and a decidedly good education. He was at an early age fond of reading Shakspeare, and fond too, presently, of imaging the looks and behavior of his leading characters. He next resolved to visit the theatre. For better reasons than many others of his race who do so, he bowed to the exigencies of the Scriptural religion, as interpreted in Philadelphian theatres, and went up to the shelf near the roof, where, surrounded by yelling, whistling and ever-fighting boys, he studied the performances on the stage. At length this man went to Boston: he staid in an orthodox hotel on Washington street, where he was compelled to eat his meals in his room, and piously charged extra for the enforced luxury; but he found in one of the best actors of Boston a man who was able to recognize dramatic genius under a black skin, and who consented to undertake his training. With W. H. Smith, and afterwards with an actor of New York, this young man studied. It was necessary that, now that he had resolved to devote himself to the dramatic art, he should be able to visit the stage and the various arrangements behind it. But nothing could induce the managers of any theatre in Boston, New York, or Philadelphia, to permit him at any time of the night or day to examine these stage properties and arrangements. At length, having thoroughly mastered the leading characters of the Shaksperian plays, and seeing that there was no possible door to the stage in America, this man started with his wife and child for England. He arrived in England a little over a month ago: and within three days after his arrival he had made a contract for the management for one month of a little theatre at Gravesend, and had announced for its opening the play of Othello. The theatre is not an important one, but he took it in order to get a little practice. He went out, on the fourth evening after his arrival, having, as I have said, never set his foot on a stage before, and took the part of Othello. The audience soon began to feel the striking fact of hearing an Othello that needed no dyeing to make him a Moor; and as he went on and sustained himself without prompting, without an instant's loss of the thread and feeling of the play, the interest increased steadily to the end. For about a month he played here successfully in the highest parts,—Richard III., Macbeth, Hamlet, Shylock, Othello,—twenty-one nights in all.

A gentleman of my acquaintance in London, of high culture, and a very critical writer, learning that an American named Morgan Smith had taken the Gravesend theatre, and was acting in Shakesperian characters with some success, determined to go down to Gravesend, which is near the mouth of the Thames, and a considerable distance from London. He soon found himself seated in the pit of the little theatre, and somewhat disgusted at the dreary performances of a very poor stock company. But from the moment when Morgan Smith come out—the play was Richard III.—he found himself borne along on great waves of feeling and emotion, as he had rarely been in his life. This gentleman wrote to me declaring that Smith had the true fire, and would surely succeed; that he had made his acquaintance, also, and found him an extremely interesting man.

It was through this friend that I had the good fortune to make the acquaintance of Morgan Smith. They came together. I found the actor a remarkably handsome man of about thirty years of age, of a deep brown color, singularly strong lines of face, and an expression full of dignity, animation and power. He consented to read for us, and a little company was collected, amongst whom were several literary personages, and one who had been connected with the stage. To this group, seated in an English drawing-room, the Philadelphian negro read the speech of Othello to the Senate, and several portions of Hamlet. There was no one present but was thrilled by these readings. His voice was clear, rich, and resonant, perfectly modulated, and capable of uttering the widest range of emotions, from tenderness and pathos, to terror and rage. And there was, too, a chasteness, an absence of all noisiness and affectation, which is ever the sign of a true artist. I think I have never seen such an eye since I saw Rachel's—a magazine of the weapons of passion. There is but one opinion amongst those who have seen and heard Morgan Smith, on or off the stage, and that is that the provincial tour upon which he is now about to enter as a star-actor, will end with a position on the London stage as eminent as that of Ira Aldridge on the continental stage; and that America may ere long have more food for reflecting how well she is leading the van of Humanity, whilst some of her finest spirits can find a free arena for their development and movement only under the monarchies and aristocracies of the old world.—*Moncure D. Conway, in the Radical.*

"FELIX HOLT" is Miss Evans's last novel, recently reprinted here. The following "bits" from it show that it contains more of the bright and sharp things of the kind than we have been taught to expect from the author by her former works:

Mrs. Holt, the quack medicine vendor, is strong against the rejection of "works" as an element in salvation, boasting, "I thank the Lord that I never needed to put myself on a level with the thief on the cross," and when her son puts his veto on the sale of noxious drugs as a universal cure, holds that *with* God's blessing the most noxious drugs may become beneficial, though without suggesting any reason for her somewhat arbitrary expectation.

In one passage the author observes:

"There is seldom any wrong-doing which does not carry along with it some downfall of blindly climbing hopes, some hard entail of suffering, some quickly satiated desire that survives with the life-in-death of old paralytic vice to see itself cursed by its woeful progeny, some tragic mark of kinship in the one brief life to the far stretching life that went before, and to the life that is to come after, such as has raised the pity and terror of men ever since they began to discern between will and destiny. But these things are often unknown to the world; for there is much pain that is quite noiseless."

Among the bits of humor in the volume are these:

When Mrs. Tansome says, "I am afraid of even expecting anything good again," Denner replies, "That's weakness, madame. Things don't happen because they're bad or good, else all eggs would be addled or none at all, and at the most it is but six to the dozen. There's good chances and bad chances, and nobody's luck is pulled only by one string."

We are told of Mrs. Transome that "she had no ultimate analysis of things which went beyond blood and family—the Herons of Fanshore or the Badgers of Hillbury"—and Esther reflects that a solitary elevation to wealth would look "as chill and dreary as the offer of dignities in an unknown country."

There is a touch of dry humor in the election agent's address to the Sproxton colliers and the interpolated remarks of his audience: "'What's trade now without steam? and what is steam without coal? And mark you this, gentlemen—there's no man and no government can make coal.' A brief, loud 'Haw, haw,' showed that this fact was appreciated. 'Nor freeston' nayther,' said a wide-mouthed, wiry man called Gills, who wished for an exhaustive treatment of the subject, being a stone-cutter."

OLD AND YOUNG GENERALS.—The momentous question as to the capacity of elderly gentlemen for commanding armies in the field, is very naturally now again under discussion in Europe. Sir Edward Cust writes to the London *Times* and gives the names of the sexagenarian and octogenarian generals under whom Austria has at different times suffered her worst disasters. The whole history of the world, to a certain extent, confirms Sir Edward's opinion, that no man above fifty should be put in command of a large host in actual warfare. Hannibal was commander-in-chief of the Carthagenian armies when he was only twenty-four, and he was only thirty-one when he won the battle of Cannæ. Alexander the Great had conquered Greece and Persia, and achieved his other wonderful conquests, when he died at the age of thirty-one. William the Conqueror made himself master of England at thirty-nine, and Henry V. beat the French at Agincourt when a youth of twenty-seven. Cromwell was forty-six at his victory at Naseby, and Nelson was forty-seven at Trafalgar. Frederick the Great, of Prussia, was but twenty-eight when he opened his first campaign against Austria; when thirty-three he was victorious at the close of the second Silesian war, and at the end of the Seven Years' War he had but just entered on the period at which Sir Edward Cust thinks that military incapacity begins to show itself. Turenne, another of the "great masters" of modern days, was but thirty-seven when the peace of Westphalia resulted from his wonderful gifts as a soldier. On the other hand, Cæsar spent almost all his youth and early manhood in civil occupations, and was forty-two when he took the field in command of the Roman forces in Helvetia and Gaul. At fifty-two he fought and won the battle of Pharsalia over Pompey, who was then fifty-eight. The Duke of Marlborough, again, was fifty-four when he won the victory of Blenheim; he was fifty-six at Ramilies; at Malplaquet, when he showed the very extreme of daring, he was fifty-nine; and when at last he took the fortress of Bouchain, he was as much as sixty-one. Nevertheless, on the whole, there can be no doubt that substantially Sir Edward is in the right. As to the special case in hand, it is important to know how old are the Prussian generals who have just beaten their Austrian elders. Perhaps Sir Edward Cust can supply the information.

FASHIONABLE SUMMER LIFE IN ENGLISH COUNTRY HOUSES.—Ordinarily, the manner of life is somewhat in this wise: Breakfast from nine to ten, guests dropping down and grouping themselves as they please, generally at three or four different tables. At half-past ten or eleven the shooting and fishing-parties start or the cricket-match begins. In the meantime the men stroll about the grounds with a cigar or visit the stable and the kennels, or join the ladies, who draw, or work, or read the papers, or gossip in the drawing-rooms, or on the carpets and cushions on the lawn, under lime or chesnut-trees, if the day is warm enough. Then croquet parties are generally going lazily and flirtingly until the next general gathering at two for luncheon—a meal which the sportsman, however, takes under a hedge or behind a haystack. Afterward the ladies drive or ride, or continue croquet with such of the men as eschew shooting until between five and six, when there is tea for those who like it in the house or on the lawn. Probably the sportsmen will be home before the pleasant loitering at tea is over, and by this time the morning papers have arrived and perhaps some new guests, and there is talk of anything that has happened in politics or society. Dinner at eight or thereabouts, and afterwards in some houses you will have music; in others cards, in others dancing, until the ladies like to retire. Then the men adjourn to the billiard-room, cigars and seltzer-water, mixed with more or less sherry or spirits. Billiards last as long as any one likes to play, every man dropping off at his own time.—*Tom Hughes.*

SOUTHERN AFFAIRS.

REBEL OPINION.

THE rebel Gen. James L. Kemper, endorsed by the Augusta (Ga.,) *Constitutionalist* as "a good soldier and a sagacious patriot," having been understood as indorsing the Doolittle Convention at Philadelphia, explains himself shrewdly:

"I therefore would do nothing to prevent or diminish its success as against the Radical party, but at the same time I could not ratify several of the declarations sent out in the resolutions and address adopted at Philadelphia. I could never assent to, or acquiesce in any such declarations as that we of the South had, as rebels and insurgents, made offensive war upon the United States; that I would never agree that the cause we have lost was not as just and righteous as any in which warrior and patriot had ever drawn the sword. I specified other objections to the resolutions and address, and said that, speaking for myself alone, wishing to lead or influence the action of no other man, I should silently float down the stream of events until a juncture could be reached which would enable Virginia, *while adhering to the Union of the Constitution, fully and unequivocally to reaffirm her ancient, unrepented and indestructible principles.*"

ANOTHER DISPLAY OF REBEL VIOLENCE.

ATTACK ON A UNION BURIAL PARTY AT FREDERICKSBURG, VA.

Special Dispatch to the N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Wednesday, Sept. 19, 1866.

A row occurred at Fredericksburg, Virginia, last night, between members of the Union soldiers' burial party and a lot of ex-rebels.

There had been considerable feeling of late in that city as to the building of the monument in the Union burying ground on Marye Heights. Yesterday the burial party were paid off. Several of the corps being at the railroad depot at night, a little influenced by liquor, were branded by a crowd of citizens with unkind epithets; replying in usual complimentary style the crowd set upon them and a desperate fight resulted, in which eight men were badly bruised. No weapons were used. Intense excitement prevails. Col. Moore, Chief of the Burial Corps, left for that city to-day.

"PEACE" IN TEXAS.

The Galveston *Civilian* of the 13th., just received, says it is said that a committee of the Legislature is to be sent to investigate the circumstances of the burning of Brenham by the United States soldiers. A military committee is already engaged in a similar investigation. In the meantime a gentleman from Brenham informs the *Telegraph* that the citizens generally are armed and keep out a guard of fifty men, who prevent the entrance into the town of any of the soldiery, while the latter are in camp a little distance from the town, forted up and engaged in digging rifle pits.

The loss resulting from the conflagration is estimated at $153,700, divided among some thirty citizens.

ONE OF THE SUPPORTERS OF "MY POLICY."

Gen. Sheridan having spoken of the butchery at New Orleans as a "massacre by the police, not excelled in cruelty by that of Fort Pillow," we are tempted to inquire what has become of Gen. N. B. Forrest, who commanded the massacre at Fort Pillow. A telegram dated Memphis, August 25, answers with the statement that an immense mass meeting was held there that evening, to ratify the proceedings of the Convention at Philadelphia. *Gen. Forrest presided and addressed the meeting.* We take the following report from the Chicago *Tribune* of Aug. 27.

"The Johnson ratification meeting in Memphis on Saturday evening was attended by about 1,000 persons. Gen. Forrest presided. He said there was no decision in the late war, and he proposed now to go to the ballot-box. The fighting accomplished nothing, and he wanted no more of it. He indorsed the Philadelphia Convention as a whole. Resolutions declaring Congress a usurping rump were loudly cheered. They indorsed the Philadelphia Convention, but cheered emphatically the clause declaring resistance to despotism essential to freedom. Col. Gustavus Henry said that the South got nearly all at Philadelphia it could ask for. The abolition of slavery, however, was a cruel mistake. He declared that the Southerners would have been unworthy of their fathers if they had allowed the North to take four millions of property without fighting for it. * * * Speeches were made by Haynes, Avery and Cameron, all fiercely attacking and threatening Gov. Brownlow and the State government. They declared they would yet put their foot on the necks of the Radicals in Tennessee, in spite of all they could do.

NEGRO MARRIAGES AND THE LAWS OF KENTUCKY.

Some time ago a white woman and a black man, who declared that they had been married at Xenia, Ohio, were committed to the city workhouse, in Louisville, Ky., for living together as man and wife contrary to the statute of that State. They have been since then engaged on the city quarry. Last Monday a motion for their discharge was urged in the City Court, and was decided against them. Their counsel has applied to the United States District Court for a writ of *habeas corpus* which, at last accounts, had not been granted. The *Democrat* says: "The point which will be decided in this case is this: 'Are persons who have been married in Ohio, legally married on coming here where our State statute prohibits their cohabiting together?'"

THE TEMPER OF THE SOUTH.—HOW MR. BEECHER IS REGARDED.

The following is from the Mobile (Ala.) *Sunday Times*, a leading representative paper of the ruling class:

"To-day the Southern community, or a majority of it, goes into hysterics over a certain letter from the Very Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, finally giving his consent to our re-entering the great American family—not as we entered it in 1787, but as blood, carnage, robbery, and the most infamous breach of public faith have left us.

"Southern correspondents at the North, amongst them those to whom had been intrusted what was left of our sacred honor, telegraphed to their crest-fallen constituents that this letter should be printed in 'letters of gold;' others speak of it as bearing the stamp of genius of that great and after all sincere man, while even the style is lauded as an imperishable monument raised to the glory of the English language.

"Have those who so suddenly forgave forgotten that, of all the low-born miscreants whose insignificance could only be worked into notoriety by the enormity of their crimes, Henry Ward Beecher and his race of vipers may justly take the lead?

"This obscene parson of Plymouth Church, who flaunts a musk-scented kerchief before his congregation of Wall street moralists, is however the same who, not ten months ago, before that same congregation, was preaching (forgive us, Christians, for using that word as applied to that man!) the beauties of amalgamation, and in his sweet silvery, voice, with his oily countenance turned up to those heavens he kept insulting, telling his hearers that when that millennium of human perfection should arrive the world would witness in its fruits 'crystal more pure—jewels more rare' than could ever be dreamt of.

"That man, whose every thought has been a blasphemy, whose every act has been an insult to that God whose Gospel his profane hand has polluted, is also a co-laborer of a woman, his worthy sister, whose infamous slanders of the South have done so much to shut out the sympathies of the world from us; and if the hand that traced the libel known as 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' is not that of Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, his lying spirit is that which inspired it. He no doubt also but a few days ago inspired that woman when she advised that to every church in the land there should be added a billiard-saloon, a gaming-room, and a race-course.

"Twenty-four years of the life of that miserable man have been devoted to bringing on the struggle wherein perished not only the South, but that great charter of human rights, the Constitution of the United States.

"Endowed with no genius, devoid of any transcendent talent, but possessed only of that ambition for evil which fired the heart of the first tempter of man, he saw, like the brute who fired the temple of Ephesus, that where fame could not be reached in erecting, it could always be attained by destroying, and he at once joined the pigmies and myrmidons who were sapping and mining at the base of our great national monument.

"A slave to the luxuries of the world, a complacent tool to those who wield the power of gold, this preacher of Divinity, this disciple of a God of poverty and meekness, has reared unto Mammon a temple where every vice, where every enormity in turn found a ready advocate so long as the new-fangled notion could please and chiefly—pay.

"But while every 'ism' found its asylum under the shelter of that degraded pulpit, its occupant was building up a princely fortune, rioting in every possible luxury, and moving so far above the common haunts of man as not to be ever disturbed by the importunities of those in want and distress—a more contemptible, more selfish being never disgraced a public or private station. A more bitter, more venomous, more lying foe to the good and great men of the South never lived than Henry Ward Beecher, desecrating even the tomb of that sainted woman, the mother of Washington, once devoting her memory to the tortures of hell; though afterwards, afraid of his own prospects, he set out on a crusade to abolish the place where his soul shall be finally lashed.

"But when this shoddy aristocracy of Plymouth Church found that their 'Five-twenties,' under the influence of President Johnson's policy, were gaining favor in Europe, they ordered their 'anointed' to change tack, which this time-serving minister of the golden calf submissively complied with, *as it paid.*

"In compliance with this new era in his politics, that reviler of Christ now comes out to demand admission for the Southern States, and because the name of that rank enemy of everything that is fair and decent is found in company with those honorable men who have ever stood for the right, some Southerners actually run wild with joy.

"But those enthusiastic admirers of the reverend's epistle have not read it through, and sought to seize its spirit, or else they would have discovered that while obeying the dictates of his interest, and that of his shoddy congregation, the rancor, the bitterness, the gall of the low Puritan, oozes out of the pores of his forced liberality, as, when reviewing the several objections raised against readmission, he uses the following hypocritical slang:

"'I hear with wonder and shame and scorn the fear of a few, that the South once more in adjustment with the Federal government, will rule this nation! The North is rich, never so rich; the South is poor, never before so poor. The population of the North is nearly double that of the South; the industry of the North, in diversity, in forwardness and productiveness in all machinery and education required for manufacturing, is half a century in advance of the South. Churches in the North crown every hill, and schools swarm in every neighborhood; while the South has but scattered lights at long distances, like light-houses twinkling along the edge of a continent of darkness. In the presence of such a contrast, how mean and craven is the fear that the South will rule the policy of the land. That it will have an influence, that it will contribute in time most important influences or restraints, we are glad to believe. But if it rises at once to the control of the government it will be because the North, demoralized by prosperity and besotted by grovelling interests, refuses to discharge its share of political duty.'

"What do the grovelling admirers of this epistle say about 'perpetuating in letters of gold,' this open, direct, standing insult flung in their teeth?

"The South poor, the South ignorant, the South heathenish, the South wallowing in her barbarism—and the North rich, enlightened, Christian, civilized! Such is the picture, and well and justly may the sweet-scented brother of Harriet Beecher Stowe laugh at the presumption of the South pretending to direct, nay to influence, the government of this great country.

"If Southerners deem that reconciliation means humiliation, self-abasement, and the abnegation of all that constitutes manhood, then this is truly reconciliation. But a certain spirit has taken such a hold of certain men that for them allegiance to the government is inseparable from the allegiance to men, and that unless the South takes into her embrace every contemptible creature whose ambition, interest, or the mere desire for change, throws from the active ranks of our enemies into those of justice and right, no political reconstruction is possible.

"For us we are ready to abide, so far as we are personally concerned, but *without any pledge for future generations*, the consequences of surrender. We are ready to return and have in good faith returned to the Constitution which our adversaries had actually violated, if they on their side will likewise return to it; but this does in no wise alter our contempt, our hatred for those who have driven the South to despair and profited by their own acts to rob and murder her.

"We owe and we give our allegiance to the Constitution, and will stand by the Union as a political necessity; but we will not for all this join hands with the wretches of the Beecher and Greeley school."

PLOT TO MURDER GOV. WELLS—OUTRAGE ON BLACK AND WHITE UNIONISTS—THE NATIONAL AIRS HISSED.

Special Dispatch to the N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Thursday, Sept. 20.

Your special New Orleans correspondent sends the following dispatch to this Bureau:

NEW ORLEANS, Thursday, Sept. 20, 1866.

I have received trustworthy information that five men were hired to assassinate Gov. Wells when on his way back to this city from his late visit to his home in the parish of St. Landry.

The Governor having received information of their designs, avoided them by taking a circuitous route of over 400 miles.

Information has been received from different parishes that bands of lawless men are committing outrages on white and black Unionists.

The Academy of Music in this city opened last Monday week. Every night that the national airs were played they were emphatically hissed and groaned down by the loyal audience.

"RECONSTRUCTED" TEXAS.

The Texas Legislature, through the action of the Committee on Federal Relations, has respectfully returned to the government the Constitutional Amendment, declining its further consideration. The ground assigned is thus expressed in the report:

"Article thirteen, sections one and two, have the honor to report as follows:

"The people of Texas, in Convention assembled, have already, by their ordinance, acknowledged the supremacy of the Constitution of the United States; in which Constitution the above-named article thirteen is embraced, as part of the same; the courts of law so hold and administer said article thirteen.

"This Legislature has no authority in this matter; any action on the same would be surplusage, if not intrusive.

"The Committee, therefore, ask to be excused from the further consideration of the same; and they herewith respectfully return the communication of the Honorable the Secretary of State of the United States."

—A private letter from Texas contains the follow significant statement:

"Our Provisional government ended on the 9th of this month, and the first act of the Legislature was to give thanks to Almighty God that the Provisional government was ended; the next was to appropriate $20,000 to the rebel soldiers who lost limbs in defence of treason. Farewell to all hopes of the true loyal men of Texas."

—The Albany *Evening Journal* publishes the following extract from a letter to a gentleman in that city. It contrasts nicely with Gov. Throckmorton's message:

"JEFFERSON, Texas, Aug. 22, 1866.

"FRIEND WILL: This is a great country. *We have a fight every day with the d—d niggers. You can bet we slaughter them by the wholesale.* I think in the course of of a few years we will have a white settlement. Tell your father-in-law I am making good use of the revolver he gave me.

"Yours truly, E. B. B."

LOUISIANA.

A Union General residing in New York has received a letter from an Army friend at Shreveport, La., whence the *Tribune* extracts as follows:

"We have been under arms and in line for three nights past, and are in quite a state of excitement. De Soto Parish (the worst in the State) has risen. Many of the planters have been whipping and shooting Freedmen and defying the military to arrest them. Major Thompson marched 30 miles into the Parish, on Tuesday night last, and arrested five planters. The people here armed and prepared themselves, and swore they would rescue these men. They are trying to get up a riot, and partly succeeded after the news of the New Orleans riots came; but we put them down very quickly and quietly. They swear they will clean out the 'damned negro troops.' We are only in hopes they will try it on. It looks like war again; they talk it strongly, and are holding secret meetings constantly. I pity the poor blacks; they suffer terribly. In Texas, only 40 miles from here, they work and treat them exactly the same as in old slavery times.

"Shreveport, La., Aug. 10, 1866."

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